

## ON THE SHIRONGOLS

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### ABSTRACT

This translated text provides the first account of the Sanchuan Mangghuer in a Western language, based on first-hand observations made by Grigorij Potanin in the winter of 1884-1885. The text includes information on ethnonyms, the distribution of the Mangghuer, their language, history and legends, dwellings, clothing, food, agriculture, weaving and the division of labor, general information on religion, Buddhism and the cult of territorial deities, shamanism, the consecration of a Zushi icon, rituals during drought and thunderstorms, annual community festivals, family customs and events, and other occasions.

### KEYWORDS

Mangghuer, Minhe, Monguor, Qinghai, Sanchuan, Tu

### ORIGINAL TEXT

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### ON THE NAMES OF THE SHIRONGOLS

This discussion deals with the Mongols best identified as the 'Settled Mongols of A mdo'. In contrast to the Mongols of the Mongolian Plateau, they live in A mdo, and their settled way of life distinguishes them from the nomadic Kokonor Oirat. 'Settled Mongols of A mdo' is, however, a long name, and being descriptive it might also be misleading if some of these people actually live on the Plateau, or if there are nomadic groups among them.<sup>1</sup> The name is, in fact, mistaken, as some of the Oirat groups also turn out to be settled. For these reasons, it is necessary to turn to the names by which these people call themselves, or by which they are known to their neighbors.

The Mongols of A mdo call themselves simply 'Mongols'. The question "What is your ethnicity?"

<sup>1</sup> [To the best of our knowledge, there are not, nor have there been in the past century, any full-time pastoralists among the inhabitants of Sanchuan. Households may send a family member into nearby high altitude regions to herd livestock on a seasonal basis. Such practices have occasionally led to the establishment of new permanent agricultural settlements in such areas, but not to the establishment of permanent pastoral communities. In contrast, there have been a few Huzhu Mongghul engaged in permanent mobile pastoralism, though these appear to have been households and individuals rather than communities. It is likely that such individuals and households underwent rapid Tibetanization after taking up pastoralism. For more on Mongghul pastoralism see Schram (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]) and Limusishiden and Jugui (2011).]

will be answered by a person from, for instance, Sanchuan, in the following way: "*Bi mangghuer kun* I am a Mongol person."<sup>2</sup> If you continue asking how the Mongols of A mdo call themselves in distinction from the Mongols of the Plateau, you occasionally get the answer that they call themselves Chighang Mangghuer 'White Mongols', or according to other data, Chahar.<sup>3</sup> The Mongols of A mdo can seemingly only distinguish themselves from the Mongols of the Plateau by using a descriptive name.<sup>4</sup>

The Chinese call them Turen, a name composed of two words: *tu* 'land, earth', in Mongol *shoroi*, and *ren* 'person'.<sup>5</sup> The Mongols of the Plateau call them Dalda or Doldo<sup>6</sup> and speak of them as *dolon helitei Doldo* or 'the Doldo with seven languages', referring to the fact that these Mongols speak several mutually unintelligible languages. The name Dalda was adopted for them by the late Przheval'skii,<sup>7</sup> and it is indeed the least ambiguous name. The only reason I prefer the name Shirongol is that the latter can be inflected in Russian. I had already heard the name Shirongol in Ordos from our companion Samt'andjimba, who is a member of this tribe. After arriving in the area where the Shirongols live, that is, in Sanchuan, I realized that they are identical with the Przheval'skii's Dalda. Because I did not know whether this name could refer to all settled Mongols of A mdo, or only the western populations with which Przheval'skii was familiar, I could not adopt the name Dalda for the inhabitants of Sanchuan. In my notes I thus started using the name Shirongol for the eastern Dalda.

The name Shirongol is as unknown as the name Dalda to the Mongols of A mdo. The only person from whom I heard this name was Samt'andjimba, who occasionally used it in the form Shirongol-Mongol. He derived it from the Mongol word *shoroi* 'land' and connected it with the name Shirongol, which occurs in the Mongol Ge sar Epic. He said that the Shirongols once had had a separate kingdom on the upper Yellow River, with the capital in Lanzhou. This kingdom was ruled by three kings, who were defeated by Ge sar, after which the kingdom of the Shirongols ceased to exist.<sup>8</sup>

Samt'andjimba did not invent the name Shirongol himself. It seems to have been used in the past, and it is also attested to in Mongol literature, though in a slightly different shape. In the Russian version of the *Altan Tobchi*, published in St. Petersburg, it is mentioned that, "Sain Altan Khagan valiantly conquered the Sharegol people of A mdo, who lived between Tibet and Tangut." If these people were not the actual Shirongols, they must at least have been the tribe from whom the name

<sup>2</sup> The sound *r* is pronounced by the local Mongols with a burr, as in Chinese.

<sup>3</sup> Meng Hong\* mentions that the *chagan tata* 'White Tatars' were a mixture of Tatars and Chinese.

<sup>4</sup> [Sanchuan residents commonly refer to *dasini kun* 'our people' primarily as a linguistically defined community, but might also extend this to include local Han and Hui residents who do not speak their language. In daily interactions among themselves, inhabitants of Sanchuan typically refer to one another according to place of residence and add *kun* 'person', for example, Wenjia kun (for a resident of Wenjia Village) or Wushighuer kun (for a resident of Wushi Valley). Although there appears to have existed a strong sense of solidarity among Sanchuan inhabitants based on a shared language, this was typically not conceived of in ethnic terms.]

<sup>5</sup> [This is reflected in the contemporary government classification of these populations as Tuzu 'Tu ethnicity'. The terms Turen and Tuzu are problematic in their relativity, designating simply the original or prior inhabitants of an area rather than a specific group. Terms incorporating *tu* have historically been used in many locations in China to refer to local, typically non-Han populations. See Brown (2002) and Deal and Hostetler (2006) for instances where *tu* has been applied to indigenous populations.]

<sup>6</sup> [The ethnonym Dor rdo is used by Tibetans in Reb gong County, Rma lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, to refer to local Mongolic speaking inhabitants. Such populations are found in Gnyan thog, Sgo dmar, Rka gsar, and Bod skor villages. This ethnonym is considered derogatory except when applied by members of the group to themselves or other Dor rdo. Dor rdo refer to their language as Dor skad.]

<sup>7</sup> [Nikolai Mikhaylovich Przhevalsky (1839-1888) was a Russian of Polish origin who travelled in Central and Eastern Asia, including northern Tibet and contemporary Qinghai. His significant contributions to European knowledge of Central Asia included a description of a wild horse (*Equus ferus przewalskii*) and gazelle (*Procapra przewalskii*) that are named after him.]

<sup>8</sup> He also said that the Shirongol king who lived in Lanzhou was called Hor spun zla.

Shirongol derives.<sup>9</sup>

The neighboring Tibetans call the Shirongols 'Rgya hor' or 'Chzhahuri'. This name appears to be composed of two elements: *rgya* (Chzhapyk) 'Chinese' and 'Hor', which is the name of a non-Tibetan, possibly Mongol, nomadic tribe of northern Tibet.<sup>10</sup> Thus, 'Chzhahuri' means 'Mongol-Chinese'.<sup>11</sup>

## DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION

The Shirongols live to the north and south of the Yellow River, west of the city of Lanzhou. On the northern side, their territory comprises the whole lowland area of the Yellow River Valley from the lower end of the Jishi Gorge<sup>12</sup> to the upper end of the Sangbura Gorge, that is, the so-called Sanchuan region. From here, their territory continues in a narrow strip towards the Huang River in the north, where it comprises the lower course of this river and extends to the banks of the Datong River. The uppermost village along the Huang River is Shina, which is located at a distance of 4.3 kilometers from the place where the Bazhou River flows into the Huang River.<sup>13</sup> The region west of here to Xining City is occupied by Chinese.<sup>14</sup>

Another area occupied by the Shirongols lies in the mountains north of Xining. The environments of the towns of Weiyuan<sup>15</sup> and Mubaishingtū, and the territory between them is again occupied by the Shirongols.<sup>16</sup> Thus, there are two separate areas of Shirongol habitation north of the Yellow River.<sup>17</sup>

In exactly the same way, there are two other Shirongol areas on the southern side of the Yellow River: one is in the middle of the road between the cities of Lanzhou and Hezhou in the locality named Dongxiang, and the other is close to the town of Bao'an in the Longwu River Valley.<sup>18</sup>

In Sanchuan, as was mentioned above, the whole left bank of the Yellow River Valley is

<sup>9</sup> In his notes to *Sanan Setsen*, Schmidt\* mentions the Schara Scharaigol Tuluhun group, against whom the Tibetan king, Srong btsan sgam po, waged war.

<sup>10</sup> [Bellezza (1997:86 n82) says of the Hor, "The name Hor was first given to the Uighurs of Kanchow around 800 by Tibetans and was later used to describe the Mongols of Genghiz Khan..." Ahmad (1970) translates the term as 'Eastern Mongols' as opposed to the term Sog, used for Western, i.e., Oirat, Mongols and their descendants.]

<sup>11</sup> The Shirongols call the Tibetans 'Tiebie', the Chinese 'Qidai', and the Mongols of the Plateau *doro ghazher manghuer* or 'the Mongols of the Low Country'. [See Snying bo rgya and Rino (2009) for the use of a related term, Sog rgya, by Tibetans in Reb gong (Tongren) County.]

<sup>12</sup> [Potanin: Dondon.]

<sup>13</sup> [The region described here is presently within Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province. The village of Shina is adjacent to the county capital, Chuankou. The Manghuer (Shirongol) populations are currently found only in the south of the county on the north bank of the Yellow River, in the Guanting basin and surrounding hills and tributary valleys. Administratively, this territory lies within Xing'er Tibetan Autonomous Township; Guanting Town; and Zhongchuan, Gangou, and Qianhe townships.]

<sup>14</sup> [The Chinese (Han) population primarily occupies the riverine valley zone on the banks of the Huang River. Higher altitude zones to the north and south of the riverine valley are also home to Tibetan, Hui, and Mongghul populations.]

<sup>15</sup> [Potanin: Wuyangbu.]

<sup>16</sup> [We refer to these populations as Mongghul. For more on the Mongghul, see Schram (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]) and Limusishiden and Jugui (2011).]

<sup>17</sup> [Although clearly related, the languages spoken in these two territories are mutually unintelligible. Considerable cultural differences also exist between the two areas.]

<sup>18</sup> [The Dongxiang, a Mongolic speaking Muslim population, are introduced in Li and Stuart (1991) and Kim (2003). Legerton and Rawson (2009) also provide a few details on this poorly documented group. For more on the Bao'an Shirongol see the two chapters by Tshe ring skyid in this volume, Fried (2010a, 2010b), Roche and Lcags mo tshe ring (2013), and Skal bzang nor bu et al. (1999).]

occupied by the Shirongols. The name 'Sanchuan', in Mongol 'Ghurban Salar', means 'Three Valleys' (by which, of course, the valleys of the northern tributaries of the Yellow River are to be understood). If all the northern tributaries of the Yellow River between the eastern end of the Jishi Gorge and the western end of the Sangbura Gorge are counted, however, there are not three but six of them. They are, starting from the west: Xing'er,<sup>19</sup> Baojia, Gangou, Aral, and Wenjia rivers, as well as the Sangbura River, which is known as Molto River along its upper course. The name Sanchuan implies the territory between the Gangou River (on which Nijia Village<sup>20</sup> is located) and the Wenjia River (by which is Qijia Village).

The Xing'er River Valley is separated from Sanchuan by a ridge covered by a thick layer of loess that extends to the banks of the Yellow River and forms a narrowing of the river with uncovered conglomerates where a ferry crossing has been built. There runs only a narrow path beside this rock along which a mule with a light burden can pass. The mountains turn towards the north downriver from the narrows and the valley becomes as broad as 4.3 kilometers at Nijia Village.

The mountains turn again towards the south at Qijia Village, and from here they gradually approach the river and reach it where the next gorge begins. The part of the valley downriver from Qijia Village (or east from the mouth of the Wenjia River) bears the special name Sangbura. In Xing'er River Valley there is only a single Shirongol village by the name Zhaomuchuan<sup>21</sup> that is located in the lowest part of the valley. Tibetan villages occupy the middle and upper parts of this valley.<sup>22</sup>

The entire lowland between the Sangbura Gorge in the east and the ferry crossing in the west is occupied by Shirongol villages. The villages of Wujia,<sup>23</sup> Wangjia, Hulijia,<sup>24</sup> Xinjia, Zhujia, Lajia, Qijia, Ganjia, Majia, and Tujia are found in the territory between the Gangou and Wenjia rivers, that is, in Sanchuan proper. They live partly mixed and partly separated along family lines, so that it is possible to establish villages with a single surname, such as, for instance, Qijia Village on the Wenjia River.

There are three villages in the upper rocky part of the valley towards the west from Nijia along the Baojia River<sup>25</sup> and there is also Baojia Village located downriver at the place where the river emerges from the ravine. Upwards along the Sangbura River Valley, there are Shirongol villages on Badaola Mountain east of the Sangbura River.<sup>26</sup> These are the easternmost Shirongol settlements on the way to Lanzhou. Songjia Shan<sup>27</sup> Village is even further east and is also inhabited by Shirongols, but these people are recent migrants from the region of Dongxiang. Shirongol villages also extend along the rocky upper course of the Aral River that crosses Sanchuan in the very middle.

<sup>19</sup> [Potanin: Itel.]

<sup>20</sup> [Nijia Village has now been absorbed by Guanting Town.]

<sup>21</sup> [Zhaomuchuan traditionally consisted of a confederation of seven Mangghuer communities, rather than a single village.]

<sup>22</sup> [Tibetan communities are found to the north of Zhaomuchuan proper (the territory of the seven communities) within Xing'er Valley. Gamaka Village is the first Tibetan village encountered moving north from Zhaomuchuan. From this point, several Tibetan communities are scattered among the Mangghuer villages. Xiera Village has both Mangghuer and Tibetan households (divided by a narrow gully) and is the northernmost Mangghuer community in the Xing'er Valley. From there northwards, all communities are Tibetan.]

<sup>23</sup> [Site of present day Zhongchuan Township.]

<sup>24</sup> [Potanin: Fujia.]

<sup>25</sup> [Although it is unclear which three villages the author is specifically referring to here, he is clearly indicating communities in the Wushi and Puba valleys.]

<sup>26</sup> [These villages have now mostly been relocated to the lowlands on the north bank of the Yellow River. Locals traditionally recognized two communities in this region: Badaola (Badaoshan) and Hongnai. The two communities were adjacent to one another and in many respects integrated, being distinguished primarily according to differing settlement histories.]

<sup>27</sup> [Potanin: Songjia Shir.]

The whole population consists of Shirongols in the region thus described; there are Chinese only in the single village of Nijia that serves as the local trade center.<sup>28</sup> The easternmost point of this Shirongol area is thus marked by Badaola Mountain, while the westernmost point is Zhaomuchuan Village. The distance between these points is about 21.3 kilometers.<sup>29</sup>

South of the Yellow River, opposite Sanchuan, the entire population is Chinese, except for the settlement of Datongping, located opposite Zhaomuchuan Village, which is occupied by Shirongols who have come from Bao'an.

I know little about the other sections of the Shirongols. I only passed Dongxiang in autumn of 1884 on the way from Lanzhou to Hezhou, and saw only one village, Soloba. I also visited the Shirongols in the vicinity of Wuyuangbu Town in the winter of 1885-1886, but was in only one village west of this town and only spent one night there. I saw the Shirongols of Bao'an during a one-day stop in the town of Bao'an in 1885.

There are 1,200 households in Sanchuan, that is, in the territory between the Gangou and Wenjia rivers.<sup>30</sup> Assuming that each household has five souls of both sexes, we get the total figure of 6,000 souls for Sanchuan. If we further assume that the population of Baojia, Zhaomuchuan, Sangbura, and Badaola is approximately 2,000 souls, the whole population in this region nears 8,000 souls. In Dongxiang, there are thirty-six villages. Counting one hundred households per settlement they must contain a total population of 18,000 inhabitants but, assuming that the figure thirty-six is exaggerated, the actual population may be as low as 10,000 souls. The Shirongol population on the lower course of the Huang River and along the Datong River can also be estimated at 10,000 souls. The population in the environments of Weiyuan and Mubaishingtū cannot possibly be larger than 20,000 souls. There are likely to be no more than 2,000 souls around Bao'an. All of this gives the following conclusion:

|           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| Sanchuan  | 8,000        |
| Datong    | 10,000       |
| Dongxiang | 10,000       |
| Weiyuan   | 20,000       |
| Bao'an    | <u>2,000</u> |
| Total     | 50,000       |

It is possible that the same Shirongol tribe also includes the Shira Yughurs, who live in the valleys of Nanshan south of Ganzhou and Suzhou cities. The tribe inhabiting these valleys is divided into two sections – one speaking a Mongolic language, the other speaking a Turkic language. The members of the former section are called Shira Yughurs or Yellow Yughurs, while those of the latter are called Khara Yughurs or Black Yughurs. The Chinese call the Yughur, Huangfan 'Yellow Barbarians'. The work *Suzhou Xinzhi* or *Description of the Suzhou District* mentions this name. The name Huangfan was applied in ancient times to some tribes living in the northern parts of Amdo and their

<sup>28</sup> [There is a significant contemporary Hui population in Guanting Town and Zhongchuan Township.]

<sup>29</sup> [In his description, the author excludes two significant centers of Mangghuer populations. The first is Minzhu Valley, which contains Mangghuer populations in its southern reaches and Han and Hui populations in the north. This valley extends to the north of Sangbura to the west of Badaola. A second population center is Shidie Valley, located between the Minzhu and Gangou valleys. Finally, he also excludes the Mangghuer village of San'erjia, on the southern bank of the Yellow River, opposite Sangbura.]

<sup>30</sup> [Thus excluding populations in Zhaomuchuan, Badaola, Shidie Valley, and Minzhu Valley.]

princes mentioned in the book bear Mongol names. According to this Chinese book, the tribe was called this in memory of some kingdom that was called Shila Guo, the Shira Kingdom. The Shira Yughurs are descendants of this kingdom according to the book.<sup>31</sup> Could it be that the Shirongols were originally a Turkic tribe that for the most part (with the exception of the Khara Yughurs) was Mongolized, after which it was transformed once more due to Chinese influence?

### THE SHIRONGOL LANGUAGE<sup>32</sup>

The language of the Shirongols is Mongolic. Its differences with regard to the language of the Plateau include the following.

#### Abundance of Alien Elements

The largest amount of foreign mixture in the Shirongol language has come from Chinese. It is difficult here to make a distinction between ancient and recent borrowings; apparently, the borrowing of Chinese words continues even today.<sup>33</sup> There are also a few words that, although superficially Chinese, are unknown to the neighboring Chinese and are used only by the Shirongols, as is confirmed by the Shirongols themselves. These seem to be dialectal words of local Chinese groups that were completely absorbed by the Shirongols. The Shirongols of Bao'an, and partly also those of Weiyuan, use many Tibetan words. Finally, there are Turkic words, such as, for instance, *beghe* 'tree', *tashi* 'stone', *dimei* 'bread', *bazer* (Turkic *bazar*) 'town', *ana* 'mother', *bulai*<sup>34</sup> (Turkic *bala*) 'child', and *sangpusighe* (*sarymsak*) 'garlic'.

#### Presence of Words Specific Only to Shirongol

For example, *agur* 'girl', *mula* 'small', *huang* 'year', *noqier* 'thunder',<sup>35</sup> *enzhasi* 'cow',<sup>36</sup> *chaibai* 'bank, border',<sup>37</sup> *shuoshighai* 'lizard', *kaler* 'basket'.

#### Special Pronunciation of Mongolic Words

The guttural *h* of Mongol is in Shirongol replaced by a guttural *k* (*kh*), e.g., *nughuai* 'dog', *khuoni* 'sheep', *fugur* 'cow', *kheghai* 'pig', *pughang* 'god', *museng*<sup>38</sup> (Mongol *buha*) 'ox',<sup>39</sup> *khuru* 'finger', *boduo*

<sup>31</sup> It may be mentioned here that Schmidt, in one of his notes to the Ge sar Epic, associates the Shirongols of this epic to the land of Lake Kokonor and the Upper Yellow River.

<sup>32</sup> [For other sources on the language, see Janhunen (2003), Mostaert (1931), and Slater (2003a, 2003b).]

<sup>33</sup> [Borrowing has also taken place in the opposite direction. See, for example Dede (2003), Dwyer (1992), and Feng and Stuart (1992).]

<sup>34</sup> [*bulai* = boy.]

<sup>35</sup> [*Noqier* in fact means 'storm'; thunder is *zhalei*.]

<sup>36</sup> [*Enzhasi* in fact means 'plow'; cow is *fugur*.]

<sup>37</sup> [*chaibai* = edge.]

<sup>38</sup> [*pykha*.]

'knee'. Words beginning with a vowel have an initial aspiration, e.g., *hulan*, in the speech of some people even *fulan* (Mongol *ulan*) 'red', *huotu*, *fotu* (Mongol *odun*) 'star'<sup>40</sup> *herbige* (Mongol *erbeke*) 'butterfly', *hundughai* (Mongol *undugun*) 'fox', *humugai* (Mongol *umuhei*) 'stinky'.

Some words contain extra consonants, e.g., *chighezi* (Mongol *tsasun*) 'snow', *jiarghasi* (Mongol *dzagasun*) 'fish', *yighesi* (Mongol *yasun*) 'bone', *mersi* (Mongol *musun*) 'ice', *chersi* (Mongol *tsasu*) 'paper'. Some words appear with somewhat different meanings, e.g., *yimeghe* 'village' (Mongol *aimak* 'people'), *berghasi* 'wall', *manang* 'fog', *mer'* 'road' (Mongol 'trace').

The sound *k* or *h* is replaced word-initially by *ch*, e.g., *qideghuo* (Mongol *hutuga*) 'knife', Qidai (Mongol *kitat*) 'Chinese'. In word endings, *l* is pronounced with a burr, e.g., *xier* (Mongol *söl*) 'tail', Mangghuer (Mongol *mongol*), *baler* (Mongol *baryul*) 'handle of vessel', *chorbon* (Mongol *tsolmon*) 'summer lightning', *ertang* (Mongol *altan*) 'gold'.

Apart from this, there are distortions of the following types: *wugur* 'winter' (Mongol *uby'l*), *tegheji* 'button' (Mongol *tobchi*), *shuguo* 'big' (Mongol *iki*), *lumu* 'arrow' (Mongol *nomun*), *mughashi* 'tomorrow' (Mongol *margashi*), *maosai* 'ugly' (Mongol *muhai*), *ghur* 'two' (Mongol *hoir*), *mandeghai* 'frog' (Mongol *melehei*).

Instead of Khalkha *dz*, the Shirongols use *dzh* as in Ordos, e.g., *zhuzhuang* 'thick', *jierghang* 'six', *zhuerge* 'heart', instead of *dzudzan*, *dzurgan*, *dzyurhu*.

The nominal ending *sun* in Shirongol is changed to *si*, e.g., *biesi* 'grass', *duruasi* 'liquor'.

In the realm of grammatical features, we note the following peculiarities: The Mongol verbal ending of the past tense *sen* or *ksen* in Shirongol is replaced by the ending *jiang*, e.g., *huguijiang* 'died', *khegherajiang* 'broke', *dijiang* 'ate'. In the present tense the verbs in Shirongol end in *lang*, e.g., *kelilang* 'speaking', *dilang* 'eating'. In the imperative, the element *a* is added, e.g., *ri a* 'come'<sup>41</sup> In the conditional, the element *balani* is added, e.g., *baibalani* 'if there is', *kereglibalani* 'if it is necessary', *yaobalani* 'if you go'. Negative forms: *qida dalang* 'impossible', *wu dalang* 'cannot drink', *yao dalang* 'cannot pass',<sup>42</sup> *kuiqi dalang* 'is not enough'.<sup>43</sup>

## HISTORY AND POPULAR LEGENDS

The Shirongols arrived on the Yellow River from Ordos according to a popular legend that I heard from many local people in different places.<sup>44</sup> This tradition tells that the Shirongols were sent to Sanchuan in the time of Genghis Khan to function as Mongol border guards. There are indications that they were brought here by Genghis Khan himself.<sup>45</sup> As to the question concerning the date of the Shirongols'

<sup>39</sup> [*museng* = male offspring of a yak sire and a cow.]

<sup>40</sup> [*fotu/ hotu* = handle.]

<sup>41</sup> [Potanin gives *ra* as the imperative particle.]

<sup>42</sup> [In fact, '*yao dalang*' means 'cannot walk'. 'Cannot pass' is *nuoqi dalang*.]

<sup>43</sup> Certain features of Mongol words recorded by an Armenian historian, a contemporary of the Mongol invasion, are reminiscent of the features exhibited by the Shirongol dialect. [*kuiqi dalang* = not to be caught.]

<sup>44</sup> Przheval'skii noted the similarity of the names Dalda and Talat. The latter is the name of one of the seven Ordos banners, located in the northwestern corner of Ordos. Cf. also the name Diledi, attested among the appellations of the western peoples in the times of the Khitans.

<sup>45</sup> [The origin of Sanchuan inhabitants remains an unresolved issue. The theory presented here, also expounded in Schram (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]) is that Sanchuan residents originated with Mongol soldiers stationed to guard the borders of the Chengisid Empire, who then submitted to the Ming at the fall of the Yuan. An alternative view, expressed by Hu (2010), is that the present inhabitants of Sanchuan are descended from the Xianbei people of Northeast China, who later became the Tuyuhun. Recent research on Sanchuan clan histories suggests more

arrival in A mdo, Chinese historical sources available to us in translation mention three occasions of large-scale migrations from Ordos or its vicinity to A mdo. The Tungusic Xianbei tribe migrated from western Manchuria through Ordos to the Yellow River in A mdo in the beginning of the fourth century. *Sanan Setsen* relates that the brothers of Khubilai, Dorda, and Godan (this may have happened in the thirteenth century), on the order of their mother, moved with all their people to the region of Shiratala, located northeast of Xining. Here they occupied a locality by the name Lienston, subsequently known as Liangzhou,<sup>46</sup> inside the Great Wall. A tribe by the name of Alutusy came from the north (from Ordos) to the Kokonor land in the fifteenth century. The Shirongol-Mongols might represent a mixture of these three migrations, or they might be connected with either one of the two later migrations.

Apart from the legend mentioned above, the Shirongols know only traditions about their princes, which are published in a separate volume containing folkloric materials. The Shirongols regard a certain Li Jinwang as the ancestor of their leaders, the so-called *tusi*.

This Li Jinwang was a high Tang Dynasty (618-907) court official in Xi'an according to a local tradition. He was sent to an uninhabited place due to improper behavior at the court after a feast or, more exactly, to the place at the conjunction of the Bazhou and Huang Rivers where the Chinese town Chuankou is located today. This place, covered by infertile sands, was called Santahu before Li Jinwang's arrival. Li Jinwang invited Chinese people, built a town, and introduced agriculture. Chuankou became a capital of a separate state and the commercial center of the whole region. The Shirongols regard Chuankou as the most ancient town in the region and maintain that its current condition does not give a proper understanding of its past splendor.

All the Shirongol *tusi* descend from Li Jinwang, but his direct lineage is continued by the Li Tusi Clan, whose residence is located on the Datong River. Li Jinwang's grave is said to lie near Byang thang Village on the left bank of the Huang River downriver from the mouth of the Bazhou River.<sup>47</sup> I was told that a sacrificial ceremony is held annually in honor of Li Jinwang. Byang thang Village is obliged to present a sheep for this festival, while Chuankou Town must present a cow.

Chinese historical sources available in Russian translation make no mention of Li Jinwang.<sup>48</sup> The *History of Tibet and Kokonor*, translated by Iakinf,<sup>49</sup> tells that for 351 years from 312 to 663 AD, A mdo was the Tuyuhun<sup>50</sup> Kingdom territory founded by Xianbei people from Manchuria.<sup>51</sup> Tuyuhun

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diverse origins than either of these theories posit, with individual clans tracing their origins to local Han, Hui, and Tibetan populations (Roche 2011).]

<sup>46</sup> [Potanin: Lientsu.]

<sup>47</sup> There is a large, old cemetery beside Byang thang Village. It is located at the foot of a steep mountain that rises above it in the north, west of the village. Li Jinwang's grave is marked by a hill on which a stele with Chinese characters is erected. In front of the stele, which faces south, there are stone statues representing, if I remember correctly, sheep in a lying position. People assign healing properties to the stone at the grave of Li Jinwang and break pieces off it. Only a third of the original stone seems to remain today. There is another stele in the same cemetery in better condition that is also equipped with statues of sheep.

<sup>48</sup> Babu Chandra Sarat Das found a legend of the land of Li (Li yul) in Tibetan books and assumed it referred to Khotan. Khotanese legends, as we will show in the fourth part of this work, are similar to those still current in northern A mdo. If the identification of Li yul with Khotan is correct, it should not be ruled out that the name Li was transferred in popular concepts to the region of Kokonor. The Chinese legend concerning the bringing of the statue 'dzu' [probably Tibetan: *jo bo*] also mentions a Tibetan kingdom named Li.

<sup>49</sup> [Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin (1777-1853) was also known as Iakinf (Hyacinth) and is considered important in the development of Sinology. He was tonsured with the name Iakinf in 1802 and sent to Beijing, where he spent the next fourteen years. His interest in Chinese history and language was such that he was charged with a lack of religious zeal, stripped of his rank as abbot, and imprisoned in Valaam Monastery. It was here that he translated ancient and medieval Chinese writings, and published on Chinese and Mongolian history, geography, religion, and so on. He started the first Chinese-language school in the Russian Empire in 1837.]

<sup>50</sup> [Potanin: Togon.]

allegedly set up the kingdom and the Xianbei completed the migration under his leadership. His descendants changed the name of their people from Xianbei to Tuyuhun to honor his memory. This is likely to be a later explanation while in reality, Tuyuhun was the original name of the people. The leader with this name is thus probably a legendary figure marking the point of origin of popular genealogy.

The Tuyuhun Kingdom was replaced by that of the Tufan, which existed from 634 to 866, for 232 years. Later, the Tangut Kingdom or Xia Guo (999-1227, totaling 237 years), was formed on the Plateau, with the capital at Ningxia. At the same time, A mdo was organized into the small duchy of Tubot (also known as the Northern Small or New Tufan), which existed for only 116 years (from 1015 to 1131). A certain Gusiluo (or, according to VP Vasil'ev,\* Gosrai) founded the latter. The duke's residence was located at Zonggecheng<sup>52</sup> from which his possessions extended 915 *li* east to Yongning, 500 *li* northeast to Liangzhou, 500 *li* northwest to Ganzhou, 300 *li* east to Lanzhou, 415 *li* south to Hezhou, and 400 *li* west to Lake Kokonor. At the intersection of Lanzhou, Ganzhou, and Kokonor this location corresponds exactly to the location of Chuankou, the legendary residence of Li Jinwang.

This is the only definite historical information on A mdo, and the Shirongol legends apparently refer to this particular duchy. However, it is possible that only the very existence of the duchy is a historical fact, while it is difficult to verify the authenticity of a real-life Gusiluo, its alleged founder. Histories referring to the founders of dynasties always incorporate popular legends of mythical figures and consequently, it is also possible to view Gusiluo as a not fully historical person. His name in the Chinese original as translated by Father Iakinf, is explained as being composed of the words *go* or 'holy' and *silo* or 'son', which are supposedly derived from the Tufan language of the Hezhou region. This shows that Gusiluo was a nickname and not the real name of the founder. The name Gusiluo is similar to the name of Ge sar, whose story is sung at weddings in A mdo,<sup>53</sup> and who has a legendary connection with many localities in this province from Ganzhou to Songpan. As we have seen, Shirongol legends attribute the destruction of the Shirongol Kingdom to Ge sar, and the Shira Yughurs regard Ge sar as their ancient king.

The legend of Gusiluo is told in the *History of Tibet and Kokonor* as follows. He was a Tufan prince whose real name was Chinan Dewen Zanpu<sup>54</sup> and he was born in Gaochang (i.e., Turfan) in a royal family. When he was twelve years old, Helang Yexian, a Tufan person from Hezhou, who travelled through Gaochang, noticed Gusiluo's wonderful and valiant physique and took him to Gongxingcheng. Songchang Suzhun then moved him to Yigongcheng with the intention of making him Duke of Wenfu.<sup>55</sup> After this, however, Li Lizong, a lama from Zonggecheng, together with Wenbu, the main leader of Miaochuan,<sup>56</sup> abducted Gusiluo and made him the head of Hezhou. His subjects grew stronger and he settled at Zonggecheng. Li Lizong, or simply Lizong, served as his minister. It is further reported that Gusiluo waged war against Tuoba Yuanhao,<sup>57</sup> the Xia ruler.

<sup>51</sup> [See Molè (1970) for more on this kingdom.]

<sup>52</sup> [Zonggecheng is present-day Ping'an, the seat of Haidong Municipality.]

<sup>53</sup> [We are presently unaware of any locations in A mdo where the Ge sar epic is sung at weddings. There is much literature dealing with the Ge sar epic. See Karmay Samten (1993, 1995), Li (2001), Roerich (1942), Samuel (1991), and Yang (2001) for important contributions. For translations of the epic into English see David-Neel and Lama Yongden (1934) and Wallace (1991).]

<sup>54</sup> [Potanin: Tsinian Lingwen Kiabu.]

<sup>55</sup> [Perhaps more appropriately: wanting him to establish the rule of law that in this context means re-establish clan/ tribal order.]

<sup>56</sup> [Miaochuan is present-day Ledu, in Haidong Municipality.]

<sup>57</sup> [In this case, Tuoba is an ethnonym, and Yuanhao a personal name. His full name is Li Yuanhao.]

The latter entered the territory of Gusiluo in 1035, and Gusiluo retreated and made his base at Shanzhou. Learning through spies that Yuanhao had crossed the Zongge River and placed marks at shallow places, Gusiluo ordered the marks to be secretly moved to deep places, after which he attacked Yuanhao. The Xia army began to retreat and was drowned while crossing the river.

Along the entire course of the Yellow River between Guide and Lanzhou there are no fords, thus it is likely that the disastrous crossing took place on the Huang River. In that case, Shanzhou may be identified with either Gushan or with Ba yan rdzong<sup>58</sup> and more probably with the former because it is regarded as a very ancient locality, about which there is also a popular legend. But the Yellow River, more exactly the Jishi Gorge, is the site of the legendary crossing of Ge sar and the defeat of his enemies who attempted to cross the river after him; the story in question is included in the second volume of the present work, which contains tales and legends. Possibly there really was a Chinan Dewen who founded a duchy at Zongge and, who in order to enhance his prestige, took the name Ge sar, about whom there already existed legends among people. One of these legends about the crossing of a river was attached to his historical person and found its way into A mdo history.

The genealogy of the Shirongol *tusi* and the legend of Li Jinwang are apparently included in the book *Xining Zhi* that is a geographical description of the Xining region.<sup>59</sup> We were able to examine this book at Dung dkar (Huangyuan) Town. Mr. Parker was accompanying us at that time and found an entire chapter devoted to this topic while examining it. Mr. Uspenskii used this book and another one titled *Suzhou Xinzhi* for his interesting article on Kokonor, but his extractions from these books concerning the Shirongols are unfortunately very brief.

We may remark at this point that Mr. Uspenskii is wrong when he criticizes Przheval'skii for allegedly inventing a new tribe with the name Dalda; he claims that these Dalda were long ago known to the Chinese under the name Huangfan or 'Yellow Barbarians', and that they are simply Mongols. However, the Chinese only refer to the Yughurs using the name Huangfan. The Huangfan are always distinguished from those aborigines to whom Przheval'skii referred, and whom the Chinese call Turen. This distinction may have been necessary for the Chinese because one group of these barbarians are nomads while the other group are settled farmers. But it is possible that in more ancient times the name Huangfan was applied to all Mongols inhabiting A mdo. This name was possibly translated from the Salar<sup>60</sup> term Shira-mongol, which is used for those earlier inhabitants of A mdo whom the Salars, according to their tradition, pushed away when they occupied the region of Xunhua.

The Shirongols are divided into surname groups, or clans, such as: Qi, Wang, Fu, Lu, and others. These clans, as was already mentioned above, live mixed, though families of a single surname group occasionally dwell together. Thus, in Sanchuan, the Qi Clan forms a village of their own at the Wenjia River, while the Baojia have a village west of Nijia Village on the Baojia River. Legends remain about certain of these surname groups that claim they are of non-Mongol origin. Thus, for instance, the Baojia are said to descend from Tibetans who entered the composition of the Shirongol people.<sup>61</sup> The surname group Ni (Nijia, from whom the village derived its name) is claimed to be of Chinese origin. Certain of the Sanchuan surnames are also encountered elsewhere. It happens that the surname Qi is

<sup>58</sup> [Neither of these locations are on the Huang River.]

<sup>59</sup> [Schram (2006[1954, 1957, 1961]) draws heavily on this work.]

<sup>60</sup> [The Salar are a Turkic-speaking Islamic people. For more on the Salar see Goodman (2008), Hahn (1988), Li and Stuart (1990), Ma et al. (1993), Ma and Stuart, (1996), Ma et al. (1999), Ma et al. (2001), and Poppe (1953).]

<sup>61</sup> It is possible that the current surnames are based on the initial syllables of ancient Mongol names. A similar development can be observed in Ordos.

particularly widespread, and is also found in Weiyuan among Tibetan-speakers.<sup>62</sup> These people are assumed to be Mongols who lost their language in a Tibetan environment, but the Qijia *nar* in Sanchuan still regard them as their kin.<sup>63</sup> Part of the land within the municipality of Xining is the property of Qi Tusi.

Certain clans have elders who are the so-called *tusi*. Thus, there are Qi Tusi, Lu Tusi, Li Tusi, and others. Upon the death of a *tusi*, this hereditary title goes to the eldest son, while the younger sons all become members of regular society (*khara kun* ['black people']). Folk tradition can hardly give definitive information as to whether all clans once had their own *tusi*. Some clans, however, lost their *tusi* during the memory of people who are still living. Thus, it is told that the surname group Xin, who occupy the territory to the west of Qijia *nar*, recently still had their own *tusi* (Xin Tusi), but his title was cancelled by the Chinese authorities. The last Xin Tusi took much tribute from his subjects; the Xinjia *nar* lodged a protest with the Chinese leadership, and the latter removed the title from the profit-seeking *tusi* and made him an ordinary subject of the emperor, and the Xinjia *nar* were placed under the direct rule of Chinese officials. In olden times the total number of Shirongol *tusi* was eighteen, but it is unclear how many remain today, even to the Shirongols themselves. Some *tusi* lost their title in the same way as Xin Tusi, while others became impoverished and lost their social position. Many *tusi* clans have disappeared. These *tusi* are still extant: Qi Tusi (there are two), Li Tusi (his residence is located in the town of Liangcheng on the Datong River), Wang Tusi, and Gan Tusi.<sup>64</sup>

#### DWELLINGS

The Sanchuan Shirongols live partly in separate farmsteads, and partly in groups of farmsteads. They are all settled, and no traces remain of their former nomadic way of life. The houses are built of clay bricks and are called *gar*. Every house has a courtyard, surrounded by a wall three to five meters high. Such a house appears from the outside like a small fortress or castle and the way into the courtyard goes through a small wicket that only a mule without a burden can pass through. For this reason, mules with a burden are unloaded outside of the courtyard and carts are also left outside.

We spent the winter of 1884-1885 in such a Shirongol house. A description of this house may also give an understanding of other houses in the region. Our house was quadrangular in shape with sides fifteen meters long. The sides were oriented according to the points of the compass. There was a wicket in the southern wall of the compound. There was a room thirteen meters long along the northern wall. There was a building of similar length along the western wall divided into two halves – in one half there was a stable and the other half served as living quarters. There was an empty space three meters across used for dumping ashes and rubbish where the two buildings did not join each other at the northwestern corner. The rooms were up to two and a half meters high, with the walls of the courtyard rising one or two meters above them. The community living inside of these high walls

<sup>62</sup> [See Sperling (1997) for more on the Qi Clan.]

<sup>63</sup> In another place I have the following note that apparently refers to these same Qijia: there is a group called Qijia Lakka north of the town of Nianbo. These are Tibetans who do not grow crops, but are engaged in cattle breeding and live in black tents. They are administered under Qi Tusi, who lives in Nianbo. I also have a note on the Qijia *nar* living around Weiyuan. They are called Qijia Kaksung, and they are more numerous than the Sanchuan Qijia.

<sup>64</sup> According to the *Xining Zhi* there is a stone at Honggucheng on the northern bank of the Yellow River, down from the mouth of the Huang River, with an inscription marking the boundary of the possessions of Li Tusi.

thus could not see what happened outside of the house. The people in the house had to climb by ladder onto the roofs of the room in order to see the crowd in the street when there was noise in the village streets accompanied by the crackle of firecrackers, or if there was a festive entrée or a procession. The walls were built of bricks and covered by clay on both sides.

Our house was adjoined in the east by another one exactly the same, and to the latter a third one was adjoined. All three together formed on the southern side a continuous high wall with three wickets. There was a dark pile up to two meters high at some distance from each wicket beside the wall. This was the stock of fertilizer for the field, of which we will say more in connection with agriculture. There was an empty space up to twenty meters broad belonging to these houses in front of this wall, while there was the back wall of the next block to the south of this space. They prepare the threshing-floor on these openings in front of some farmsteads.

Even rich people have such relatively small houses. If the space occupied by a farmhouse is large, it is divided into separate rooms, with a separate room serving as the stable for the mules, or as the dwelling of a married son. The actual dwelling of a household always remains relatively small. However, if a person grows wealthy, he can surround his courtyard with rooms on all four sides, or also build a second floor above the room located along the northern wall. Certain pious house owners build a platform of clay in the middle of the courtyard with a height of half a meter and burn yellow paper here during festivals.

The northern room located opposite the wicket is normally considered to be the most important. Guests are received here and it has the best furnishings. It has a door in the center and, on both sides of the door, are large windows through which the interior receives light. There are no partitions inside this room. The whole forms a single room that in a rich house might be called the living room, and in a poor house called the storage room. There is a sleeping platform along the whole west end of the building that is heated in winter. Firewood is laid in openings that are located on the exterior wall of the room. A large wooden chest is usually placed opposite the window on the sleeping platform that in poor homes is undecorated, but in rich homes, it is made of elaborately carved walnut wood and a finishing of lacquer. Rice, fruit, and nuts are kept inside.<sup>65</sup> They have a table opposite the door,<sup>66</sup> above which, on the wall, they either hang a picture depicting some Buddhist deity or glue an enormous sheet of red paper with Chinese characters. The other end of the room is either empty, or if no other space is available, it is used for storing grain-filled painted trunks and glazed pots or *gang*, straw casks,<sup>67</sup> and other vessels containing agricultural products.<sup>68</sup>

The rooms' walls are so thin that thieves, having established where the housemaster's chest with silver is kept, occasionally manage to make a hole in the wall beside the chest and steal the silver during a single night without entering the house. For this reason, rich people surround their premises with an external wall and let watchdogs run free during the night in the space between the two walls.

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<sup>65</sup> [A storage chest is given to a woman when she marries and moves to her husband's family home. This is placed on the sleeping platform and is used to store the woman's private property. Traditionally, most important among this property was her embroidery equipment. The woman maintains the key to this box throughout her life.]

<sup>66</sup> [This table is referred to as the *baxian* 'Eight Immortals' table.]

<sup>67</sup> By straw cask I mean a special vessel that is used for keeping grain, made of a long plait or rope. One end of the rope is laid on the floor of the room in a circle with a diameter of two meters; the remaining rope is laid in rings lying one above the other forming a cylinder up to nearly three meters high. The cylinder is hollow and narrows slightly upwards. Such implements are used here instead of actual chests and granaries.

<sup>68</sup> [The northwest corner of the compound's main room was also where *jiashen* 'household deities' were enshrined and venerated.]

The clothing of men in no way differs from that of the local Chinese. The clothing of women is, however, characterized by considerable peculiarities, though their hairstyle and footwear also show a strong Chinese influence. Girls' feet are bound, though not quite as strongly as among the Chinese so that, although their feet are also deformed, the Shirongol women can nevertheless walk well and even carry heavy burdens.<sup>69</sup> The main difference in clothing is contained in the headdress that varies from place to place. The headdress is relatively simple in Sanchuan.<sup>70</sup> The hair is drawn up from the sides and tied with a red band so tightly that an upwards-pointing cylindrical rod about twenty centimeters high is formed slightly back of the top of the head. The rest of the hair in the back is laid in rings around the base of the rod. On the fore side of the head in front of the rod, a kind of wreath or *noudar*, is laid on the hair. It is sewn from a strip of cloth with a thickness of 1.5 fingers, and on the exterior side it is decorated with corals and large round silver plates forming rosettes. This is the everyday headdress of married women. For festivals, women fix to the *noudar* a thick fringe made of tiny red coral beads that hangs down and covers the upper part of the forehead.

Weiyuan women wear several types of headdress. Some of them are illustrated in Przheval'skii's *Third Expedition*. In the immediate vicinity of Weiyuan, Shirongol women wear a piece of cardboard that covers only the fore part of the head. These headgear are gathered inwards in the middle like cavalry caps, i.e., the diameter of the piece from the forehead upwards becomes smaller up to the middle part of the piece, but higher up becomes larger again, so that the whole headgear consists of two parts. The lower part is like a little cap, while the upper part forms a ridge across the head. The headgear is glued together of paper and covered with red cotton cloth. In places it is decorated with gold paper glued onto it. A thick fringe is sewn from silk tassels onto the upper edge of the ridge that completely covers the front side of the piece. The plaited hair is threaded through a round opening located in the lower back part of the headgear and the place where the hair comes out through the opening is covered with a round brass plate. They throw on the headgear a covering made of blue cotton cloth that extends to the waist or lower on the back. When Weiyuan Shirongol women work in the field, they gather this covering in a bundle upon the headgear, which makes their heads appear enormously big from far away. The covering is sewn in the form of a half bag, i.e., they take a piece of cloth the size of a towel, fold it in the middle as if making a bag, and then sew together one side of the bag, while the other side is left open. The result is a kind of hood with a rectangular top.

Another type of headdress consists of brass plates more than twenty centimeters long that are fixed radially around the face. This headdress, like the one mentioned above, can be seen in the illustrations in Przheval'skii's work. I did not see it being worn by women, but a dealer in old clothes did obtain a specimen of it for me at Weiyuan, together with two specimens of the headgear described above.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> [See examples of Minhe Mangghuer women with bound feet: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/3027522301/>; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/3028356562/>, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/3027522251/>, and <https://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/3028356484/>, accessed 28 January 2015. Women whose feet had been completely bound were very old and very few in 2011 in the Minhe Mangghuer area.]

<sup>70</sup> [See examples of Minhe Mangghuer women's headdresses in the pre-1949 era: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/sets/72157625322866853/>, accessed 28 January 2015.]

<sup>71</sup> These two headdresses are now kept at the Museum of the East Siberian Branch of the Geographical Society in Irkutsk. Tibetans (according to one source) call Shirongol people who wear these clumsy headdresses Karlong. [See Faehndrich (2007) for more on the Karlong dialect.]

Finally, a third type of headdress consists of a cap with a wooden rod one meter high on top. There is an iron trident at the end of the rod. Przheval'skii does not have this, and I was also unable to obtain a specimen of it, since it is used somewhere in remote corners to the north of Weiyuan. But I heard detailed descriptions of such a headdress and eventually saw a Shirongol woman wearing such a piece on a street in Xining. Women wearing this type of headdress add to it a broad strip of cloth about one handbreadth wide that runs from the back of the head along the back almost down to the hem that is decorated with silk embroidery and small shells. At the height of the waist a white circle like a small plate with a diameter of thirteen centimeters in a completely horizontal position is attached. It is carved out, as it appears, from some large seashell.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, we encountered new types of headdress again around Bao'an. Married women let the plaited hair fall down along the back. The root of the hair is covered with a three-finger-broad envelope or plate of cloth, the ends of which are bent under the plait so that the lower ends are bent more and the upper ends less. It appears as if the upper end passes through a case that narrows downwards and widens upwards like a bell-shaped socket. This covering is decorated with ornaments sewn with multicolored silks on the exterior side. A horizontal copper arrow or plate passes through this plate below this covering. Old women cover the head with a cylindrical cap that is sewn from black textile and is placed closer to the back of the head.

Regarding other clothing among the Sanchuan Shirongol women, the skirt or *khurmo*<sup>73</sup> is unique. It is sewn of brown calico. A white band of fur is sewn with a breadth of fifteen centimeters to the skirt's upper border. The back of the skirt is split along its entire height so that this sort of skirt may also be characterized as a large apron that covers the feet down to the shoes. The two sides of this apron are drawn one upon the other at the back so that the feet are hidden in a tube. Intakes are only made under the ends of the fur band at the waist. The skirt is even in the front and along the sides. There is also a split in the front from the hem upwards, but only halfway along the height of the skirt. Along the hem runs a sewn strip made of black cotton cloth 7.5 centimeters wide. The same strip runs along the sides of the two splits.

The actual apron is of completely European dimensions and is worn on the skirt. It is mainly sewn of red cloth. On the sides and on the hem it is decorated with a strip of green material with the breadth of a hand. The breast and the spine are covered by a jacket called *ange*<sup>74</sup> that is often green and has wide arms. Its lower part is red. Women wear broad cotton pants and an abdominal band under the skirt that also serves as a pocket.

Women's shoes are of the Chinese type and sewn of silk by Shirongol women themselves. Men wear shoes sewn by their wives. Leather shoes of the piston type, known in Chinese as *luoti* that I observed being worn by the Salars, are not used by the Shirongols.

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<sup>72</sup> I was occasionally told that the Shirongol tribe whose women wear this kind of headdress with a rod are called Dpa' ris, while others claimed that this is the name of a locality. The habit of wearing certain caps with a rod among ancient Mongols is mentioned in the notes of the Chinese scholar Meng Hong\*. [Dpa' ris is the Tibetan name for the region comprised of contemporary Huzhu, Ledu, and Tianzhu counties. The name given to the inhabitants is usually Dpa'ris ba, though Dpa' ris is also affixed at the beginning of personal names to indicate the individual's origins, for example, Dpa' ris Tshe ring don 'grub.]

<sup>73</sup> [*khurmo* = elderly Mangghuer lady's long coat.]

<sup>74</sup> [*Ange* is the Mangghuer word for the front part of a jacket.]

## FOOD

Shirongol food has only two peculiarities: first, the baking of a special bread in cast-iron pots called *chonggur*, and second, the brewing of beer (*pyushing*). The main feature of these breads or *chonggur dimei* in Shirongol is that they are leavened. The whole of China knows only unleavened bread – rolls the size of Russian Orthodox communion breads, baked in steam.<sup>75</sup> The baking of *chonggur dimei* requires a special leavening that is taken from old sour dough with some admixtures. This leavening is *kurniege* in Shirongol. It has the form of lentil-shaped loaves with a hole in the middle; these loaves are threaded on a string like our Russian ring rolls. To some extent the Shirongols make *kurniege* themselves, but the best quality is received from Lintao.

Peasants from the region of Lintao move all around Amdo looking for jobs as weavers in both Chinese and Tibetan villages. At the same time they distribute *kurniege*, deliver it on credit, and collect their debts when returning home. In the spring, *kurniege* from Lintao costs three cash apiece, while the price is six cash in the autumn. The dough used to make these pieces contains such herbs as *tizhu*, *Thymus serpillum*, but hops are not used and their properties are unknown, although the hop, *Humulus lupulus*, grows in the forests. This *kurniege* is also used when making alcoholic drinks.

The Shirongol leavened breads have the shape and size of our round rolls. The cast-iron form in which they are baked consists of two cups, of which one serves as the bottom and the other as the lid.<sup>76</sup> To be precise, these breads are not confined to the Shirongols, for similar breads are also baked by the Salars, as well as by the Chinese Muslims. In the Chinese context, however, they are exclusively a Muslim feature. It is probable that this tradition of bread-baking was brought here by the Turks. The same method of leavening bread is also known in Hami.

The same *kurniege* is also used in the process of brewing beer and when preparing grain for distilling liquor (*duruasi*). The distilling device consists of a kettle with a lid, a cooler, and a tube. The kettle is the same in which food is prepared, that is, the kettle is fixed into the stove. It is covered with a round flat wooden lid or *bergesi*. There is a cross-bar with a hole fixed to the lid for removing the lid. The word *bergesi* is probably of the same root as Mongol *burhel*, which denotes the dome-shaped lid used to cover the kettle in which liquor is prepared from milk. In Shirongol, however, any type of lid is called *bergesi*. The lid has an opening into which the end of a straight pipe or *tongzi* is placed. The other pipe end goes into the side of a high earthenware pot nine centimeters below the rim of the latter. This pot functions as a cooler (*ker*). It is divided with a horizontal partition into two parts. Water is poured into the upper part while steam from the *tongzi* enters the lower part and is condensed into drops that run out through a short pipe fixed to the opposite side of the pot near the bottom. A clay vessel is placed to collect the spirits under this pipe.

*Kunderge* is probably the same word as Buryat *hurungu*. It shows exactly the same kind of metathesis as Shirongol *merge* or 'camel-hair material' when compared to Ordos *urmege*. Buryats use *hurungu* to denote fermented milk from which they distil milk liquor or *tarasun*. It is probable that, in Central Asia, distilling liquor from milk was invented before distilling liquor from grain, so that the terminology of the former technology was applied to the latter.

<sup>75</sup> In a special device consisting of a sieve into which steam is directed from boiling water.

<sup>76</sup> It appears that *chonggur* is the same word as Mongol *kangar* or 'paired cups'. The letter *k* in the beginning of Shirongol words is occasionally represented as *q*, as, e.g., in 'Qidai' for 'Kitai', etc.

Land in Sanchuan is private property. Landowners are entitled to pass their land to heirs or sell it as they like. In contrast, people who have a *tusi*, such as the Qijia *nar*, lack the right to sell their land without their *tusi*'s permission. Moreover, the Qijia *nar* can only sell their land to other Qijia *nar*, while people from other clans who do not have a *tusi* can sell their lands to other surname groups as well.

The house and the land are divided equally between sons after a father's death. Some brothers receive money instead of real property if the household is crowded. Daughters get no share and continue living with their brothers. Land can also be rented and pawned. Thus, for instance, Shanba, a nephew of Samt'andjimba, gave two *sheng*<sup>77</sup> of his land as security for a loan of 17,500 cash. It is possible to similarly pawn individual walnut trees. Rich people in Sanchuan own up to 100 *sheng* of land, while poor people own five to nine *sheng*, and even no more than two *sheng*.

The soil all over Sanchuan consists of loess but is nevertheless manured. Artificial irrigation channels drawn from Yellow River tributaries water the fields. The fields are flooded in autumn and are covered by a thin layer of ice during winter. Local people explain this as a measure to prevent the fertilized layer of soil from being blown away by spring winds. There are two harvests a year.<sup>78</sup>

The soil is tilled with a mule-drawn plow. The plowshare has a heart-shaped form; a wooden rod is placed into the plow socket, and the upper end of the rod has a cross-bar that serves as the plow handlebar. The rod, which functions as the trunk of the plow, is called *motu enhzasi*, while the ends of the cross-bar are called *qigi* or 'ears'. Some distance above the plowshare on the front side of the rod there is an additional pole, *zar*, which is fixed to the rod with the help of a cross-piece called *sumu motu*<sup>79</sup> or 'arrow'.

Fertilizer is made from a mixture of loess with dung, ash, and various dirt. As mentioned above, there is a heap of such fertilizer in front of the wicket of every house. Making fertilizer is women's task. Women take loess from the field in baskets and carry it to the wicket on their backs. Then, in winter, they bring frozen dirt from the toilet, break both components with mallets into dust, and mix them together. The women take this fertilizer to the fields in the spring, also in baskets. Those who have donkeys use them to carry fertilizer, loading one donkey with two baskets. One *sheng* of seed-corn requires one hundred donkey baskets of fertilizer.<sup>80</sup>

Crops include barley (*arpa*), *qingkuo* (awnless barley), wheat (*bodi*), and buckwheat (*sigha*), but the variety of the latter that is cultivated in Chahar for animal fodder is not sown in Sanchuan. Potatoes are not grown in Sanchuan. People buy potatoes from villages situated in the nearby mountains.<sup>81</sup> A popular crop is *gaizi*, *Brassica juncea* [mustard greens/ leaf mustard], which is grown for making vegetable oil. This oil is one of the principal products of Sanchuan together with walnuts,

<sup>77</sup> In this context a *sheng* is a piece of land on which one *sheng*, or one bucketful of grain, can be sown. The measure *sheng* is used for dry substances, and its size varies in different parts of China. A *sheng* is a box with a bottom measuring twenty centimeters in square, and with a height of seventeen centimeters in Sanchuan.

<sup>78</sup> [This is true for lowland communities in the Gaunting basin. Villages on mountain slopes in the hinterland and tributary valleys harvest once a year.]

<sup>79</sup> [*sumu motu* = pine wood.]

<sup>80</sup> In marshy places, as in Sku 'bum, people cut turf, *dongul* in Shirongol (in Ordos and Chahar *kala*), burn it, and fertilize fields with the ashes.

<sup>81</sup> [These villages were most likely in Sanchuan and inhabited by the same population that lived in the lowlands. Sanchuan mountain villages are known today for high yields of potatoes that are easily cultivated in the rich, loosely packed soil.]

which are taken to marketplaces in Lanzhou. The oil from *gaizi* is used for lamps and cooking. The leaves of *gaizi* are pickled and added to soup. The areas of rice and cotton cultivation do not extend up to Sanchuan. Hemp is unknown to Sanchuan people.

Barley is first sown in the fields, and then, during the same summer, buckwheat. Another possibility is to first sow wheat and then Italian millet (*xonok*).<sup>82</sup> One *sheng* of barley yields forty *sheng* of crop grain. A family of five is considered to require one hundred *sheng* of grain annually.

As far as fruit-bearing trees are concerned, Sanchuan people grow peaches, pears, and walnuts. Apples and *zao* (*Zizyphus vulgaris* [jujube/ buckthorn]) are absent in Sanchuan. According to local people, there used to be a multitude of peach and walnut trees in Sanchuan, but the Muslim rebels cut them all down. The whole of the Sanchuan Valley was green with fruit and walnut trees like an endless garden before the rebellion. In addition to fruit-bearing trees, two other kinds of tree are cultivated in Sanchuan: *honghua* (*Wisteria chinensis* [Chinese wisteria]) that yields red oil and paint, and *jiaozi* (*Zanthoxylon bungei* [Chinese prickly ash]), the fruits of which are used by local people as a pepper substitute.

I can only say that apiculture exists in Sanchuan. We did not see any beehives in use since it happened that we stayed in Sanchuan only during the winter and autumn. We often had local honey from Sanchuan. It is of low quality, thin, and dark-cultured. White saccharine honey is brought to Lanzhou only from Sichuan.

Sanchuan people have the following domestic livestock: cattle, pigs, sheep with white wool and a small tail, donkeys, hinnies, and rarely horses. Mules, yaks (*xainek* in Shirongol), and mixed offspring of yaks and cows are absent. Some people keep stallions for mating with female donkeys. They try to prevent such a stallion from seeing a mare, otherwise it will stop mating with donkeys. The person with the female donkey gives the stallion's owner a sieve-full of peas for the coupling and if the donkey produces a foal, the donkey's owner gives the stallion's owner 300 cash and a large loaf of bread, and entertains him with liquor.

The wool of the sheep is shorn twice a year. I was told that Tibetans, both in Sanchuan and elsewhere in A mdo, shear their sheep only once a year, in the spring, and this is why Tibetan wool is longer.

Sanchuan people raise chicken and ducks.

## WEAVING AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

Weaving in Sanchuan is solely men's activity. They weave only woolen textiles. One type of textile (*merge* in Shirongol) is relatively broad and is used for making trousers and outer garments, while another type is narrower and is used for sashes. They also weave a coarse material called *mabu* that is used for making sacks.

Sanchuan people, like the peasants of Lintao, travel round Tibetan nomad camps and are commissioned to weave for non-agricultural Tibetans. They carry a dismantled loom with them. They charge the wool owner fifteen cash for two meters of woven textile. An experienced weaver can complete twenty-seven meters in one day. Apart from the salary, the weavers surreptitiously take for

<sup>82</sup> Predictions about the harvest are made on the basis of a magpie's nest. If the entrance in the nest that a magpie makes in the spring points southwest, the harvest will be good, but the harvest will be bad if the entrance points north. There will be drought and no rain if the entrance points somewhat upwards.

themselves yarn and pieces of yarn that are unsuitable for weaving. Such pieces are collected by a weaver from a single household to the value of up to one hundred cash – this is called 'the weaver's share'. The master of the house may, however, take away 'share' if he detects it.<sup>83</sup> Women in Sanchuan do not weave.

A reed is only used to regulate the passing of the yarn onto the heddles. After threading the yarns into the slits in the reed, the weaver passes them behind onto the heddles and then extracts them from the reed, which will no longer be used. The yarn is fixed into position not with the reed, but with a shuttle, which for this purpose has a considerable length and weight. There are four heddles (*kudzoh*) and, accordingly, four pedals (*cheigun*). The shuttle (*sumu* or 'arrow') is boat-shaped. There is an iron needle inside the shuttle that is fixed to the bobbin or to a reed pipe. The other end of the yarn that is wrapped around the bobbin and passed through a hole that is located either on the side or on the bottom of the shuttle. The block to which the heddles are attached is called *irgach*. The pinioned ridge used for pulling the warp threads is called *ogung*;<sup>84</sup> the rear spindle around which the warp is wound is called *lugo*. The front spindle onto which the woven fabric is wound is called *kundzhu*. The weft is called *cuizi*; the wheel for winding the weft on the bobbin is *terge*. The spool with an iron rod (spindle) is *terge ig*.

The Shirongols make felt and sometimes color it red. Red felt is named *phying*, which in Tibetan means simply 'felt', showing that this technique was adopted from the Tibetans. Similarly, a woolen material with brown crosses inside white circles is known to the Shirongols by the Tibetan name *phrug*.

Shirongol women are overloaded with work. They use mallets to break lumpy soil used for fertilizer and carry it in baskets on their backs, or with donkeys, to the field. They help men till the soil and sow. They fetch water for the household from streams and springs in buckets. They do all the sewing for the family and care for the children. They get up earlier than their husbands. The husband can travel away from home, or go to see the Mchod pa festival at Sku 'bum, and can be certain that his wife will, even without him, harvest the field or prepare the fertilizer. This burdening of women with fieldwork, especially with dirty work like the preparation of fertilizer, results in a general slovenliness of women. One would not believe that the hands of Shirongol women are parts of a human body. Instead of a poker, Shirongol women use their bare hands to dig out the ashes and coal from the stove, and this is why their hands are dirty, rough, and black.

There is also a lack of clothes in the region. Women from poor households own only a single dress that they never change. Every scrap of textile is appreciated and, however bad it might be, it is washed and used at least for shoe insoles. Coarse cotton fabric that we would only possibly use to wrap a parcel of mail, is here embroidered with silk thread and used for pillows to decorate the sleeping platform in the living room.

Children live in filthy conditions, and it is not surprising that they often have skin diseases. Adult people also often have sores on the neck and chest, a disease that Ordos Mongols call *hulugana dzhara* or 'rat wound'.

<sup>83</sup> Chinese women in Guangdong practice similar stealing when they spin cotton yarn.

<sup>84</sup> [We were unable to find an exact translation for the Russian term *prituzhal'nik*. See here for an image: <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/ruswood/43.htm>. Thanks to Tatiana Krampe for assistance translating this term.]

## GENERAL INFORMATION ON RELIGION

The Shirongols are divided into Muslims and non-Muslims in terms of religion. The Muslims live in separate villages, have mosques (*libai si*) and *ahong*, and despise their neighbors' religions. Only the single village of Majia is occupied by Muslims in Sanchuan, while in contrast, all the Shirongol villages in Dongxiang are Muslim. The non-Muslim Shirongols are all Buddhists, but beside the cult of Buddhist deities they also worship certain non-Buddhist gods. They have monasteries and temples built in the Tibetan style, with statues following the patterns generally seen in temples in Tibet and Mongolia. In addition, there are temples of the Chinese style, with the Chinese type of gods.

The non-Muslim Chinese have three kinds of temples in other parts of China – Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist – but the people are not divided according to these denominations. A person may worship both at a Daoist and at a Buddhist temple, just as an ill person in our own society can turn to either an allopath or a homeopath.

Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism are philosophical teachings that have developed into religions. Confucianism is regarded as the state doctrine in China, but Confucian temples exist only in cities.<sup>85</sup>

Buddhist temples are even less numerous, while there are more Daoist temples. Buddhist and Daoist temples can only be found in Buddhist and Daoist monasteries, and are maintained with the help of alms received from worshippers; some are also maintained with government subsidies.

In addition to these three kinds of temple there is a fourth type that is organized on the initiative and agreement of rural or urban communities, or urban merchants' guilds or other corporations. Like Confucian temples, they have no monks but guards and laymen carry out rituals of sacrifices and processions, resembling the situation in Confucian temples, where police officers carry out the rituals. This popular cult relates to the three religions mentioned above very much as folk poetry relates to poetry and arts created by intellectuals.

Only two of these four cults are present in Sanchuan: the popular cult and Buddhism. There is not a single Confucian temple or Daoist monastery in the region.<sup>86</sup> The Daoist monks, who are called here by the name *daoren*, and who are recognized by their trident and their haircut, appear here only rarely in search of alms.<sup>87</sup> The relation of Sanchuan people to Buddhism is different from that of the Chinese. Their position towards Buddhist temples is not that of worshippers but rather a community or, so to say, a Buddhist church. The existence of two cults in the same minds makes Sanchuan a rare example of double beliefs. Our monk, Tshe ring, was a monk from Wenjia Monastery, had a cell there, and lived there permanently; but meanwhile he was fervently engaged in decorating the temple for the popular cult of the non-Buddhist deity, Longwang,<sup>88</sup> and was one of the most unremitting contributors to this temple.

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<sup>85</sup> [See Jing (1998) for more on Confucianism in the area.]

<sup>86</sup> [The Daoist monastery of Shancheng is nestled high in the mountains above Sangbura and was probably in operation at the time the author was writing.]

<sup>87</sup> [Daoist practitioners called *yinyang* reside in Sanchuan and were likely present at the time the author was writing. *Yinyang* are married, household Daoists. One of their main duties is to chant scriptures at funerals in order to ameliorate the potentially negative effects on the living of pollution emanating from the corpse. They also choose auspicious dates for weddings and beginning such new undertakings as building a house. Their final major role is curing illness.]

<sup>88</sup> [Longwang, 'Dragon King', is in fact a term of address for male deities in general, rather than the name of a specific deity.]

Sanchuan has several Buddhist monasteries (*ximie* in the local pronunciation), including Wenjia Monastery, Ghada Monastery, Kadiga,<sup>89</sup> Wushi Monastery, and others. Each *ximie* has disciples of its own who have volunteered to maintain it. It is said that Wushi Monastery is maintained by nine villages, and Wenjia Monastery by twenty-four villages; these figures are probably exaggerated due to the vainglory of the monks.<sup>90</sup>

The monasteries are filled by monks from the ranks of the Shirongols themselves; there are also rarely Mongols from Ordos in Shirongol monasteries, and once we even saw a Solon. The number of monks in Shirongol monasteries is connected to local landownership practices. Land in Sanchuan is divided among sons but when the property is not large and the resulting shares would be insignificant, some sons become monks. The number of monks was high when the population in Sanchuan was large and there was little land before the Muslim rebellion. Of four brothers, one remained at home to continue the household and the others became monks. The Muslim rebellion and the ravaging of Sanchuan greatly reduced the population and there was a need of labor to work the fields and consequently, only a small percentage of the population is currently sent to become lamas.

Lamas earn money by reading prayers on the occasion of illness or death of laypersons, and also by providing sick people with medicine, as well as by making Buddha statues and pictures. During the time when the number of lamas grew large in Sanchuan, Shirongol lamas were scattered all over Mongolia and Tibet. Many of them even now live in Co ne, Sku 'bum, Bla brang, Lha sa, Dolonor, Alashan, and other places. Presently, a third of Sku 'bum monks are Shirongols.

If the brother remaining with the family dies and there is no one to replace him and care for the household, another brother who has made monastic vows leaves the monastery and becomes a layman once more. I often met such people in Sanchuan wearing a pigtail, although they had previously been monks. I did not observe lamas living openly in a relationship of marriage and managing a household, as often occurs in Mongolia and among the Kokonor Oirats. The whole monastic class lives in monasteries, however, this does not prevent certain monks from having a secret worldly sweetheart.

Sanchuan is located in the middle of several sacred Buddhist places. The famous Sku 'bum Monastery, the birthplace of Tsong kha pa, the reformer of Buddhism and founder of Lamaism, lies west of here and there is also Bya khyung, the hermitage of Tsong kha pa's teacher, where Tsong kha pa took his first lessons in the Buddhist doctrine. Kadiga is in Sanchuan proper, where a wonder-working painting of Tsong kha pa was allegedly once brought.<sup>91</sup> There are also the monasteries of Bingling Si and Dmar gtsang Monastery, Lake Xinxia, and other places associated with Buddhist legends in the vicinity.

This all suggests the prolonged influence of Buddhism on the tribes living in the Yellow River Valley. The very emergence of a religious reformer from this region can only be explained by the role of A mdo as an intellectual center of the Buddhist world. It is very likely that intellectual culture and arts had already found a shelter in ancient times in these warm valleys of the Yellow and the Huang Rivers that are protected on all sides by high mountain ranges from invasion by hostile hordes. The notes of Orazio della Penna\* [1681-1745], the eighteenth century missionary who visited Lha sa, mentions that

<sup>89</sup> [Kadi Kawa.]

<sup>90</sup> [The lay community associated with monasteries is referred to as *terdi*. The figures provided here for the size of monastery *terdi* accord precisely with oral accounts collected between 2008-2010 (Roche 2011).]

<sup>91</sup> [See Feng and Stuart (1992) for details.]

all educated persons in Lha sa, scholars and teachers, descended from A mdo. Even the teacher of the Dalai Lama himself was an A mdo Tibetan. Maybe it is this superior knowledge and culture that the popular legend about the building of Lha sa refers to when it tells that the builders, in order to solve the secret of completing the construction work, had to leave for A mdo to find advice.

Evidence from historical data suggests that A mdo had civilization earlier than the Yar klung tsang po Valley. To the latter valley, where Lha sa, the Rome of the Tibetan world, is located today, Buddhism was introduced during the reign of King Srong btsan sgam po (born in 617, ascended the throne in 629). At the same time, we know that the Chinese monk Xuanzang [602-664], who, also in the seventh century, travelled from China to India, found Buddhism flourishing in such cities north of Nanshan as Lanzhou, Hami, and Khotan. Moreover, even earlier, at the beginning of the fifth century, that is, 200 years before the Tibetan king Srong btsan sgam po [605 or 617?-649], the monk Faxian [337-422] found Buddhism in the same places where it was later observed by Xuanzang, i.e., along the southern border of Mongolia.

If Buddhism had already taken root and become dominant in cities located at the foot of Nanshan, it is hardly thinkable that the Yellow River Valley, separated from these cities only by a narrow ridge, would have remained outside of Uighur Buddhist influence. In times of military massacres on the Mongolian Plateau, Buddhists living in Uighur cities north of Nanshan could not have found a better refuge from the destruction than the A mdo part of the Yellow River Valley, which is isolated like a natural fortress. The fact that it did serve as such a refuge is demonstrated by its ethnographic composition, which comprises, apart from Tibetans and Chinese, also the Shirongols and the Salars.

In view of the distance of Lha sa from A mdo, and considering the unfriendly deserts and mountains that separate these places, one inevitably reaches the conclusion that Buddhism became established much earlier in the homeland of Tsong kha pa than in the kingdom of Srong btsan sgam po. This was probably the type of Buddhism that was professed by the Uighurs of southern Mongolia; it was probably taken here from Khotan, and to Khotan from Kashmir, or even more exactly, from Kabul via Bamyan. It is also likely that, after it had been taken so early to the Yellow River region, it started to expand from here along the Plateau to Ordos, Guihuacheng, and possibly even further north, so that the Mongols could have become familiar with Buddhism even before they met Tibetans.

If we now consider that it was the Tibetan script that came to be the sacred script of northern Mongolia, that the role of Rome for the Mongols came to be played by Lha sa, and the role of the Pope by a pontiff living on the southern outskirts of Tibet, we can presume that the solution to this enigma lies in the history of A mdo and Ordos that were meeting places for Uighurs, Tibetans, and Mongols before Genghis Khan. The roles could be changed, and the place of the Uighurs could be occupied by the Tibetans. Just as the imperial crown could pass from the Uighurs to the Tibetans of the Tangut empire, so could the hat of the chief priest. The Tibetans, who in the beginning lived very near Uighur cities and who subsequently became their rulers, must have constantly borrowed cultural features from the Uighurs, who were a race standing at a considerably higher intellectual level. And anyone who studies the ancient history of the Uighurs is likely to find it useful to study the A mdo Tibetans. The Ge sar legend may be one piece of heritage that was transmitted by the Uighurs to the Tibetans.

How the Shirongols adopted the cult of Chinese deities is a question that can be answered only after a careful study of the Shirongol oral traditions. The Shirongols certainly had specific beliefs before they adopted Buddhism, but they would have to resemble those relics of the ancient cult that can still be encountered among the Mongols of the Plateau. However, what we observe now is that the

Shirongols have replaced this ancient cult by one borrowed from the Chinese. The adoption of Chinese deities cannot be explained by assuming a racial mixture, for in the valley of the Xing'er River that adjoins Sanchuan, in the villages of the sedentary Tibetans there are in exactly the same way, in addition to Buddhist monasteries, also Chinese temples with statues of Chinese popular gods, in spite of the fact that the Tibetans do not intermarry with Chinese.

The most popular Chinese deities in the region under study are Longwang and Niangniang.<sup>92</sup> The largest number of temples in honor of Longwang is to be found in the eastern part of the territory of our survey, in the region of Hezhou, while Niangniang is worshipped more actively in the east, around Xining. This has given rise to the Chinese saying: *Longwang duo de difang Hezhou, Niangniang duo de difang Xining*. Both of these names, Longwang and Niangniang, are based on common nouns: *long* means 'dragon', and *wang* means 'king'. It is said that there are many *longwang*, and they are differentiated by personal names. The *longwang* in whose honor a temple in Qijia Village in the eastern half of Sanchuan is built, has the special name Suojie Longwang and he is also sometimes called Suojie Ye. The word Niangniang means 'young lady' and this name is given to a female deity whose variants are apparently also distinguished by special names.

#### SHAMANISM<sup>93</sup>

The Shirongols also have shamanic deities in addition to Buddhist and Chinese popular gods. These seem to be few in number and are only worshipped by certain clans. Thus, the Ganjia, Tianjia, Hejia, Xinjia, and Nanjia clans revere the deity Zushi (also known as Heima Zushi or 'Zushi on a Black Horse'), while families from the Majia Clan revere the deity Baima Tianjiang ('Heavenly General on a White Horse').<sup>94</sup> These clans simultaneously worship Buddhist and Chinese deities. Shamanic god images are made on canvas, and the worshippers keep these pictures in their room. They are consecrated by special persons, whom the Chinese call *yinyang*, while the Shirongols call them *bo*, i.e., the same name other Mongols call shamans.<sup>95</sup>

I had a chance to be present during the consecration of a picture of Zushi, and I include here a description of what I saw. One inhabitant of Ganjia Village had ordered an image of Zushi for his house and invited a *yinyang* from Nianjia Village for its consecration.

Zushi is always depicted in the same way.<sup>96</sup> The center of the picture is occupied by a large

<sup>92</sup> [As with Longwang, Niangniang is a term of address rather than the name of a specific deity, and is used to address female deities.]

<sup>93</sup> [The author's organization of materials is somewhat misleading. People in Sanchuan generally refer to aspects of local religion as Fojiao 'Buddhism' and Shenjiao 'deity religion'. The latter includes the territorial cult deities that the author refers to as Chinese popular religion, and the deities he describes as shamanic.]

<sup>94</sup> Apart from these, I was told that there is also a shamanic god with a sheep's head. He is called Yangtou Huhua. During a war, one person was beheaded. He caught the first available head lying on the ground, which happened to be a sheep's head, and placed it on his shoulders. It grew fast and he became a god after this.

<sup>95</sup> [The author here is conflating two separate religious practitioners. *Yinyang* are Daoist practitioners, see above. The other practitioner is referred to as *huashi* (*fashi*) in Sanchuan, though the drum used by *huashi* is called *bo* and such practitioners are also called *bo* among the Mongghul. *Yinyang* typically do not participate in the rituals for *huashi* deities, though *huashi* and *yinyang* do occasionally cooperate in treating illnesses.]

<sup>96</sup> [In fact, Zushi may be depicted in numerous ways. Although a single deity, Zushi has several forms, generally classified according to the size of the retinue that accompanies them. Two locally common forms include Shi'er Wei Zushi 'Zushi with Twelve Person Retinue' and Ershisi Wei Zushi 'Zushi with a Twenty-four Person Retinue'. See Grootaers (1952) for more on this deity.]

figure of Zushi astride a black horse, galloping from right to left. The outstretched body of the horse divides the picture into two parts, a lower part and an upper part. Zushi holds a sword in his hand raised in the air and there is a canopy that is held by an invisible figure behind the horse above the head of the image. Above Zushi, immediately below the upper margin of the picture, there are depictions of six figures that represent the following deities (from left to right): (1) Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang (i.e., 'the nine celestial ladies'; the artist who was explaining the picture was unable to tell why a single figure represents nine deities);<sup>97</sup> (2) Lingle Huangdi;<sup>98</sup> (3) Guan Laoye (Wandin Xingxiang); (4) Riyue Dalang who holds the sun (*ri*) in one hand and the moon (*yue*) in the other; (5) Zhongda Tianzi; and (6) Qinglong Tianzi. These figures seem to represent the celestial world. We encounter here a figure with the attribute *tian* 'celestial', and another figure holds the sun and the moon.

Three further figures that probably belong to this world are depicted somewhat lower, i.e., (7) Chuanhuang Erlang, accompanied by a white dog, and located above the horse's head; (8) Heihu Lingguang, accompanied by a tiger, under the sixth and leftmost figure of the upper row; and (9) Shuangma Tongzi, under Heihu Ling. According to the artist, he is travelling to Heaven with a letter.

There are also seven somewhat smaller figures around Zushi himself, three in the front and four in the back. The figures in the front are called *Qiangsang*. One of them has a piece of paper and a brush and is writing down good and bad deeds. The next one carries a bag of tobacco and the third one has a tobacco pipe. The four figures in the back are called *Hisü*. One of them carries a canopy or *tuk*, another one has a treasure that in Mongol is called *erdeni* and in Chinese is called *baobei*, and a third one has a written document with a seal. In the background there is a stone stele (*shibei*) for inscriptions.

There are the following secondary figures below the figure of Zushi: below the front legs of the horse a human-shaped figure called (1) Mangghushin ren;<sup>99</sup> and below the latter, within a square, two figures standing at a table on which lie two plates, apparently with offerings; these figures are called (2) Jinggu Mudiang. These are deities that Zushi worshipped during his time on earth.

There is a scene showing a shamanic ritual below them. Here is a picture of a shaman with a rooster, his assistant with a drum, a master of a house with his wife, and a ritual mast, the so-called *huanggan*. There is a depiction of a turtle below the horse's belly that is carrying two serpents that are intertwined in a way resembling the caduceus of Hermes – this is *guishe erjiang*. This was the name of a monster that devoured humans when Zushi lived on earth and was sitting in a cave. Zushi tamed the monster and made it impossible for it to harm people.

The following figures are depicted below the turtle: (3) Kailu Jiangjun; (4) Huolu Jiangjun (in Shirongol *gal edzhen* 'the lord of fire'), and (5) Cuiyu. Between them and Mangghushin ren there is (6) Xiama Lingtongzi who is carrying a letter.

Wu dou 'five figures' are at the lower margin. According to the artist's explanation, these are not deities but strong men or heroes. One of them is black and corresponds to the north, the second one is red and corresponds to the south, the third one is blue and corresponds to the east, the fourth one is white and corresponds to the west, and the fifth one is yellow and corresponds to the middle, or to the center of the sky. The first one holds a mirror, the second one cooks a sinner's soul in a kettle, the third one leads the soul by a string, the fourth is a strong man who carries a mountain on his head, and the

<sup>97</sup> [The name actually suggests something like 'Female Goddess of the Ninth (Layer of) Heaven'.]

<sup>98</sup> [Beyond finding the modern spellings for the names of these deities, we were unable to locate further details on the individual deities mentioned here.]

<sup>99</sup> ['Devil person' / 'monster'].

fifth is a strong man who is turning timber. The Wu dou figures are supposed to represent the underground kingdom. The man with a mirror resembles Erlük, who also has a mirror in hell, as depicted in the Buddhist picture Sansariin kurde. The two following figures also resemble pictures of Hell on this same picture.

This shamanic picture is reminiscent of the *onggons* of Northern Mongolia. These consist of a quadrangle piece of cloth, on which at the upper margin are sewn several dolls, representing the celestial ladies. The sun and the moon also figure on the pictures painted on shaman drums in Northern Mongolia. Besides, these two heavenly bodies are often depicted on Buddhist icons, at the upper margin of which there is also occasionally a row of small figures.

I heard the story that follows in Sanchuan about Zushi. He was praying in a cave and threw himself down from a hill. His belly consequently burst open, and his entrails were wrapped around thorny trees. His bowels turned into a man-eating serpent, while his heart and *hargi* 'spleen' turned into a man-eating frog (*mandeghai*). God told Zushi to collect his entrails. Zushi collected them, and they turned into *guishe erjiang*, i.e., into a frog intertwined with a serpent, as is also shown on the picture depicting Zushi.

Another legend is as follows. A man who had taken refuge was praying in a cave. Arya Balo, assuming the form of a virgin, went down to him into the cave, but Zushi attacked the temptress with a sword. The virgin was thrown out of the cave, fell from the hill into the valley, and was killed. Zushi then threw himself down from a hill in the mountains and was killed. His soul rose to Heaven, where he was ordered to become a god who controls rain, so that people would revere him, burn incense to him, and worship him.

#### THE CONSECRATION OF A ZUSHI ICON

The *yinyang* ritual was to take place in a small courtyard, within which there was only a single room with a veranda and an entrance facing south. When the three of us – myself, Samt'anjimba, and one other peasant from Qijia Village – approached this solitary house, we heard regular beatings of several drums from the road. We saw certain special arrangements necessitated by the impending ceremony when we entered the courtyard.

A mast about five meters high, known in Shirongol as *huanggan*,<sup>100</sup> stood in the courtyard center. There was a sheaf of millet attached to its top and the mast was wrapped with a fringe of paper below the sheaf. The paper was clipped in a decorative pattern. This bundle is called *shipagur*. A quadrangular flag or *tianqi* onto which two wedges were sewn was attached to the mast below the *shipagur*. There was a long tape called *moghai chersi* below the *tianqi* and there was a triangular flag called *sheqi*.<sup>101</sup>

A wooden cross hung in a horizontal position below this flag and a quadrangular chip of wood hung from each point of the cross. A piece of paper had been attached to each of the latter and was glued into the shape of a tube in the same way as they make paper lanterns. The length of each tube was at least two meters. All the paper was pierced with holes cut in a decorative pattern, and the lower

<sup>100</sup> Probably related to the Mongol *onggon*. [The etymology is actually traceable to Chinese. The initial syllable, *huan*, is derived from *fan* – paper – while the second syllable *gan* means 'pole' or 'mast'. A *huanggan* is a pole to which papers are attached.]

<sup>101</sup> [*Sheqi* is the Chinese translation of *moghai chersi*, meaning snake paper.]

ends of these hanging paper tubes were also decorated with lacework. This part of the construction is called *huanggan*.<sup>102</sup> The cross that sustained the *huanggan* could be raised and lowered on a halyard.

A table stood below the mast and some wooden *dou* (measures for grain) with flour and grain, flasks with liquor, trays with bundles of noodles, and so on were placed on it. What was most important here, however, was a cubical box with each edge about thirty-five centimeters long. This box was filled with millet, but it was not the box itself that was sacred, but a piece of wood that was half-immersed in the millet.

The pieces of wood consisted of two halves that could be completely separated, but which, when joined, formed an object similar in shape to a pod of red pepper, but with a blunter tip. Of the two flat surfaces along which the two halves were joined, one had protuberances of tin mounted into the wood, while the other half had indentations corresponding to these protuberances. The configuration formed by the insets of tin in the wood represented one of the eight signs of the Chinese mystical figure *bagua*. This wood is called *shuoghur* in Shirongol. The sharp end was thrust into the millet.

There was a saucer with burning butter beside it in the millet in the same box, and at the box's edges, standing in the millet, there was a yellow paper flag on a chip of wood called *qiqir*, and a stalk of millet or *tyuch ibisi*,<sup>103</sup> to which a lace of paper was attached.

A shed on poles had been built in the back<sup>104</sup> of the courtyard. Its roof was made of brushwood and it was covered on the upper side with clay. Paper decorated the eaves of the roof and numerous strips of white and yellow paper hung in bunches from the ceiling, like long beard moss on trees in the taiga. Paper lacework also decorated the ceiling margins.

Two worn-out pictures representing Zushi hung on the shed's back wall, which was covered with linen cloth; in all respects they conformed to the description given above. There still remained room on the cloth for a third picture of the same size as the two others. It was already finished, but it was to be hung in the shed only during the ceremony. The two pictures already exhibited had been acquired from other people, while the new specimen of Zushi was to remain in the house under the maintenance of two old people. A *dou* with millet and protruding paper flags was on a long shelf under the pictures, as well as a *kudzhi* and lanterns with burning lamps.

A *shenjian* stood in the corner against the wall. It is an iron trident attached to a short stick; to the side of the stick, a bronze mirror (*toli*) had been attached. A rhomboidal spear point was attached to the stick's lower end. A large spherical iron bell with a massive bunch of rags cut from red, blue, and yellow cotton cloth hung from the trident's neck.

We found three men beating drums and dancing under the shed, but they were volunteers. There was no shaman among them.<sup>105</sup> The shaman came out of the room soon after our arrival. He was a lean man of about thirty years with a long face and swarthy skin, through which a healthy blush was discernible. He appeared to be very cheerful.

The volunteers gave the shaman his drum. A low table was placed on the outer side of the ground, and the cubical box with the *shuoghur* was placed on the table. A white piece of felt was spread in front of this table. The shaman sat on the felt facing the *shuoghur* with his back towards the wall where the pictures of Zushi hung. His assistant sat to his left, and they placed a local peasant to his right; it turned out later, he knew the whole ceremony excellently by heart. All three started beating

<sup>102</sup> [Potanin: *hoigün*.]

<sup>103</sup> [A more modern term for *ibisi* is *biesi* 'grass'.]

<sup>104</sup> [Probably the north side of the courtyard, opposite the compound entrance in the southern wall.]

<sup>105</sup> I use the word *shaman* here, since the Shirongols themselves replace the Chinese word *yinyang* with the Mongol *bo*.

drums and singing.

The drum of the *yinyang* is composed of an iron hoop covered with goat-skin, to which an iron handle is attached. The form of the drum is kidney-shaped and, as a whole, it resembles an unfolding Chinese fan. An iron ring is riveted to the end of the handle, and three freely-moving rings hang on it. Apart from this, there are also three rings passed through a staple on the left side of the handle, and two more on the right side. Altogether there are seven rings.

The drum is beaten with a stick with a length of thirty-five centimeters, called *gubian*. It is either a wooden stick trimmed with cotton cloth, or a leather strap turned double and sewn together. The drum surface is about forty-five centimeters in diameter when measured against the direction of the handle, and somewhat less, if measured in the direction of the handle.

The drummers stood after first drumming while sitting on the felt. The felt was removed and the three men started dancing under the shed. They proceeded in a single row quickly towards the gods at one moment, dropped a curtsey, and then, drumming and holding the same formation, slowly stepped back, retreating to the outer end of the veranda. They made the same movements the next moment, but with their backs turned towards the gods, or turning their left sides and finally their right sides towards them.

They danced throwing their legs forward to the rhythm of the drums, and revealing the soles of their clumsy boots to the audience standing in the courtyard. Sometimes they went round clockwise or counter-clockwise. The sign for proceeding from one configuration to the other was always given by the shaman with a special stroke of the drum that was almost simultaneously repeated by his fellows. All of their movements were subjected to a single discipline. The sweep of the legs, and the position and management of the drum at each given moment were identical for the three. They kept the drums as one keeps a fan in front of themselves for the most part. Sometimes they turned the drums around their heads with a rapid movement that could hardly be followed. It also happened that, after hitting the drums with the sticks, they held them horizontally in their outstretched hands, forcing them into a rapid spin. This produced a very good effect: all the three stood motionless with their hands stretched out, facing either the gods or the surrounding spectators. Their songs ceased, and there was no tramp of feet. Only the surfaces of the drums flashed in the air, and one heard the rustle of iron, caused by the rings attached to the handles. It was, in a way, a tragic whispering, translated into the language of iron rattles.

It was entertaining to watch this dance at the beginning and amusing to see how elderly peasants, who perhaps already had grown-up sons, danced with a serious expression without noticing the comical nuance given to their dance by the heavy Chinese boots with thick soles. But then the attention grew lax due to the monotony of the dancers repeating the same movements over and over. Of course, this was no ballet for the entertainment of the spectators. This was hard work in the name of the gods, and its value was measured by its duration, rather than by how entertaining it was to the spectators.

The real action began after this performance. A person (apparently, the master of the house) lifted the box containing the *shuoghur* with his hands. He was placed in the center under the shed, and they placed another person back-to-back with him who took on his left shoulder the trident that until then had stood on the shelf. They placed five persons in addition to the first one in the same way. Three of those sitting faced the back wall, on which hung the two depictions of Zushi, and the three others faced the mast. All six were tightly pressed against each other, back to back and side to side. One held the box with the *shuoghur* in his hands, the second one held the trident, the third one held a tray with

packages of dried noodles and *kudzhi* on his head, the fourth one also had a tray on his head with four cups of *terha*<sup>106</sup> (roasted barley flour) and butter, the fifth one had a tray with all sorts of biscuits and finally, the sixth one held a flask of liquor in both hands. In other words, everything that had stood on the table in front of the *huanggan* had now been brought here.

The shaman and his companions began turning and circulating around the sitting persons, shaking and beating the drums. Suddenly they stopped and placed the drums edgewise on the sitting group and, bending forward towards the latter as if listening attentively, gave a prolonged simultaneous cry of *you!* The sitting persons answered with a similar prolonged *you!* This was repeated two or three times, alternating with dance and rotation.<sup>107</sup>

Then the sitting persons stood, and all the nine started whirling and dancing under the shed. Those carrying the trays and boxes had apparently been gathered from among the people in the family without any chance to practice shamanic dancing before. They were clumsy and thus often caused confusion. They stumbled on each other and jostled and thronged irrationally, which aroused laughter and pointed mockery among the audience. The shaman was forced to stop the action and restore order, after which the whirling to the rhythm of the drums resumed.

There were pauses, during which the whirling stopped and the shaman started singing alone without his companions, who at this time only beat the drums. The shaman placed his drum in a horizontal position after the song and the *shuoghur* was placed on the drum. The shaman lightly tilted the front edge of the drum and shook it, making the *shuoghur* roll down on the ground. As a result, the two halves of the *shuoghur* fell apart, lying with either both or only one of the joining sides upwards. The shaman asked the audience about the position of the *shuoghur*, and the crowd answered him with one voice what the outcome was: fortune or misfortune. Apparently, this was divining of the same type as *torök* and *oigo* among the Uryankhais.

The people carrying the trays moved aside and went to stand at the side wall under the shed towards the dancer's end. The shaman and his companions stood facing the gods while the companions beat the drums and the shaman sang. One of the six companions separated from his fellows and started whirling around and then carried his burden to the mast to the sound of his drum, where he placed it on the table standing beside the mast. They first carried the box with the *shuoghur* in this way, and then all the remaining paraphernalia. The trident was also hung on the mast above the table. A hawker's tray with crudely-made buns was brought from the room at this time and placed on the same table. Small paper flags were stuck into the buns.

The shaman with his companions danced to the mast and remained standing on its western side. The master of the household and his wife knelt before the mast. The shaman took a lump of butter from the table, broke it into two pieces, and stuck one piece on the forehead of each of the house couple. He then caught the end of one of the four paper tubes of the *huanggan* that were swaying in the wind and, holding it in his left hand, started singing prolonged songs, accompanied by beating on the drums by his companions. He held a goblet of liquor in his right hand. When he finished a song he prolonged its end while pouring the liquor on the ground. The crowd responded with a concerted shout. He received a new one after each emptied goblet.

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<sup>106</sup> [Potanin: *talkan*.]

<sup>107</sup> [Such rituals often contain sections of call and response that end in the particles *meiyou* 'has not?' and *liao*, indicating the past tense. For example, "*Lailiao meiyou?*" is shouted by the *huashi* to ask if the deity has come or not, and "*Lailiao!*" is shouted to announce that the deity has arrived. "*Kaile meiyou?*" is shouted by the *huashi* to ask if the deity's orifices have been opened or not, and "*Kailiao!*" is shouted in reply to announce that the orifices of the deity have indeed been opened.]

Three people were standing at the table under the mast, filling one goblet after the other, and adding to the liquor the crumbs that they nipped off from the buns and piles of pieces of butter lying on the table. The shaman emptied some seven to nine goblets of liquor on the ground while holding the end of the paper lace that hung at the northeastern point of the *huanggan* cross. He then emptied an equal number of goblets while holding the lace hanging at the northwestern point of the cross. He was singing during all this time and his companions were drumming, while the master of the house and his wife knelt in front of the mast on its western side.

After finishing these songs and libations the shaman took his stand before the altar and began singing together with his companions. In this connection, one of his assistants kept losing the thread. The shaman stopped and gave him remarks, but the assistant defended himself each time with energetic jokes that aroused enthusiasm and laughter among the audience.

After finishing this trio, the shaman took in his palm some white *terha* (roasted barley flour), went to the master of the house and, grasping him by the back of the head, started singing. The meaning of his song, as they explained to me, was briefly as follows: "The shaman has no peace in the night, and his legs cannot rest during the day." He then gave the master of the house *terha* directly into the mouth, trying to thrust in as much flour as possible, while the latter, afraid of getting choked, twisted his head and tried in every way to evade. The shaman then smeared the *terha* remaining in his hand onto the master's face so that the latter, when he went away, looked as if he had just returned from a mill. Friendly laughter was heard in the crowd.

After this, the shaman gave him a goblet of liquor and a piece of a bun. He did the same with the master's wife. I noticed that even the forehead of the one-year-old baby, whom she held in her arms, was smeared with white flour when he left her. Next, the master and his wife stood and left, while the shaman and his companions continued beating the drums and dancing in front of the mast.

Two young boys hurried to the scene soon afterwards. They apparently also belonged to the family, but had been absent somewhere. They rested on their knees, and the shaman carried out the same ritual with them, that is, he first placed lumps of white butter on their foreheads, and then he also humorously filled their mouths with white flour and gave them liquor and pieces of bun.

After this, he placed all the three drums in a row beside the table under the mast and entered the room to rest. At the same moment the children, of whom there were all the time a considerable number present, picked up the drums and started trying to imitate the shaman.

I wanted to use this intermission to draw a picture of the *huanggan* and the other parts of the arrangement on the courtyard. I had barely made sketches of the trident and the mast when Samt'anjimba came and took me out of the courtyard into the street, telling me that the shaman asked me not to draw a picture of the *shuoghur*, since it is a sacred object, on which the grain crop depends. He also said that the crowd already blamed my presence for the unlucky way in which the *shuoghur* had fallen, and that the shaman nourished a feeling of fear towards me. The intermission continued for about one hour and, during its whole duration, three volunteers were drumming and dancing under the shed. Obviously it is considered better not to allow the ears of the gods to rest.

Then the shaman came out, but this time he was wearing a costume. On his head he had a net made of hair, with the meshes measuring one fourth of an inch across. There was a hole on the top in the net, through which a braid, apparently beginning from the top of the head, passed. The braid was organized in a few rings lying one above the other, and the braid's end hung freely in the back. The net was fastened on the forehead with a red cotton tape that was tied up with a ribbon on the back of the head. Above the forehead, attached behind this tape, was a crest of white paper, folded like a fan and

then opened. This crest is called *shipagur*. Above the ears, fixed to the net, there were large bundles of white paper lace – *qigi* or 'ears' – hanging down to the shoulders. The shaman's body was covered with a woman's dress. The upper part of the body was dressed in a sleeveless jacket of blue cotton cloth that had an opening in the front from the neck down to the lower hem. The lower part of the shaman's body was covered by a woman's skirt of brown cotton cloth. The shaman's frame was girdled with a red-brown sash two handbreadths wide, upon which a leather belt was added. From the latter, on the back, hung eleven spherical iron bells. On the back, stuck behind the belt, there were three paper *qiqir* covering the shaman's back. Stuck in the same place there was also a long tuft of lace from white paper, hanging down to below the knees like a tail. Laces, called *xiangliang*, were also attached to the hips.

The shaman went under the shed followed by another person who was apparently the master of the house. The latter was carrying in one hand the new picture of Zushi, rolled into a tube and, in the other hand, three large *qiqir* from white paper. He held these objects crossed on his breast. He was placed with his back towards the wall on which the old specimens of Zushi already hung, and facing the mast. The shaman and his two assistants took their stand opposite him and started beating the drums. Then all this company together with one more person who had taken the trident on his shoulder, went out of the courtyard into the street and started walking towards the threshing-floor that was located to the south of the courtyard along the wall of the latter.

The procession stopped in the middle of the threshing-floor. Here a piece of felt was spread on the ground, and the person carrying the picture sat on it. He was given a pitchfork to hold, and the picture was hung by a string from a tine of the pitchfork, and unrolled. Before us appeared a fresh picture, just painted by an artist for two *liang* of silver. It was a copy of the two specimens that already hung under the shed. The head of Zushi was painted disproportionately large compared to the body of both the god himself and of the horse, and the god looked like a big-headed baby galloping on a foal. Zushi had golden eyes. Beside the picture they placed a table with a cup of liquor, a basket with a *toli* (metal mirror) and a scale or scales, and another basket with a besom and a ladle.

The picture faced the west. The shaman and his companions took their stand before the picture and started dancing, drumming, and singing. Gradually they started to beat their drums with an increasing frequency, and the more frequent the beating got, the more powerfully the shaman trembled. Finally he gave his drum to another person. The shaman received a brush, and they started rubbing ink. The rubbing took a long time, and the shaman, with the anxiety of impatience in his eyes, watched the process of rubbing while trembling feverishly and standing immediately under the nose of the god.

He finally received a brush with ink on its tip, and made a mark with it at the root of the god's nose, or so it seemed to me. Then he received a silk thread with needles on both ends. He took a long time to move the needles all over the picture until he had pierced holes in the pupils of the eyes of all the human-shaped figures on the picture, beginning with the very figure of Zushi. He presented them with the ability of real sight with this operation. He stuck one of the needles in Zushi's mouth in conclusion, and the other one at some place in the upper part of the picture, leaving the needles in this way.

He then received two burning candles that he passed first in front of Zushi's face as if wishing to illuminate it, and then led along Zushi's whole body and the body of the horse down to the hooves, and also along all the upper and lower figures on the picture. He received a rooster next. He first pulled a bunch of feathers from under the rooster's wing with his teeth and sprinkled Zushi's face with them. Then he took the rooster in his left hand with the beak towards the picture and, flapping the rooster on

the back with his right hand and forcing it to crow, started moving it in front of the picture in the same way as he had done before with the candles and the needles. In the end, he once more pulled with his teeth a bunch of feathers from under the rooster's wing and again besprinkled Zushi's face with them. The rooster was then replaced by liquor served in a Chinese cup.

The shaman received a comb and a piece of white cotton cloth together with the liquor and, dipping the corner of the comb in the liquor and holding this moistened corner of the comb at a short distance from the piece of cloth that he held in his other hand, the shaman again started moving these objects along the picture. The shaman treated the picture in the same way after returning the comb, first by the metal mirror (*toli*) and then by the scales.

Next, they gave him burning *kudzhi* and a bunch of paper lace. The shaman first circulated these objects along the picture, and then burnt the paper after placing it on the ground in front of the picture. He sang throughout this process. Having burnt the paper he took the drum in his hands and, singing, starting placing the drum under the *shuoghur*. This was the beginning of another round of fortune-telling.

Seven glazed pottery cups were brought and placed along the entire length of the threshing-floor, a distance of twenty-five to thirty steps. One cup was placed right opposite the middle of the picture. The remaining six stood farther away in two parallel rows, so that the cups formed a lane leading westward from the picture. The cups were filled with millet from the box into which the end of the *shuoghur* was immersed. Small paper *qiqir* were stuck into the millet in each cup. On the threshing-floor beside the cups, husks were strewn to form a path that ran in zigzags around all the cups. A burning butter lamp made of dough was placed beside each cup.

When everything was ready, an entire procession started under the leadership of the shaman, who held the rooster in his right hand and also the drum in his left hand with the drumstick pressed against it. After the shaman came his two assistants beating their drums; then came the master of the house holding the new picture on the pitchfork. Next, came a person carrying three paper flags, and, finally, a person with the trident.

The procession started circumambulating each cup. Beginning with the cup that stood separately, it proceeded to the first cup of the row on the left, then to the first cup of the row on the right, then to the second cup on the left, and so on. They stopped at the last cup. The shaman started a separate song, then bit a bunch of feathers from the rooster, spat them out on the picture, and led the procession again to the cup from which the dance had begun. The cups were circumambulated altogether three times, and each time the rooster lost some feathers. The direction of the movements was, of course, led by the shaman, but this was noticeable only when the procession had to move from one cup to another. The shaman seemed to be lost in among the others when the procession was moving around a single cup but then, like an electric spark, he flew to another cup, and the rest of the procession moved after him. Then the cups and the lamps were taken away.

The procession formed a circle. The shaman and his companions took their stand facing the picture. The shaman sang, the drums were beaten, and all participants moved slowly, as in a circle dance. During this, the man holding the picture tried to keep it facing the shaman and was thus forced to slowly rotate around himself. Thus the procession circulated almost at the same place for more than an hour.

Finally the procession moved towards the house, led by the dancing shaman. Occasionally, the shaman gave an exclamation and turned backwards, which caused two persons going beside the picture, one with the besom and the other with one of the baskets, to throw themselves on the ground

in front of the picture. The former pretended to be throwing dust with the besom from the ground into the ladle against the direction of their movement, that is, the besom swept in a direction away from the house, while the ladle was placed by the side of the picture. He then poured this imaginary dust from the ladle into the basket held by his companion. They lured the soul of the new Zushi to the house in this way.

The procession stopped at the wicket of the house. The wicket was blocked up from the inside with a table on which had been placed trays and flasks of liquor. The shaman took his stand in the wicket, while the others, together with the picture, remained in the street. They started giving the shaman in the wicket goblet after goblet of liquor, which was probably mixed with crumbs of bread and butter. The shaman, singing songs and facing the picture, poured the liquor on the ground in front of it. Then he took butter from the table and placed a lump of it on the forehead of each of those who had carried something, and then he gave everyone a handful of *terha* directly into the mouth and a draught of liquor. The table was removed, the procession entered the courtyard, and the picture was carried under the shed and hung on a nail on the place left for it on the wall, beside the two old specimens.

This was the end of the consecration of the picture. We left Ganja Village and returned to Qijia Village, with the intention of returning for the final act of the shaman, which would involve removing the paper lacework from the ceiling of the shed and burning the *huanggan*.

The Shirongols told me that the final act – the burning of the *huanggan* – was to occur at the hour of the cock. It was already getting dark when we again entered Ganja. The drums were already rumbling, but the drummers turned out to be volunteers. Soon, however, the shaman himself came out dressed in his costume, wearing a skirt and decorated with a crest on his head and a tail on his back and together with his companions, initiated general singing and dancing under the shed. This lasted more than an hour; the dancers circulated around each other with great speed for most of the time, finding at the same time an opportunity to beat time on the drums and to wave the drums above their heads.

The space under the shed was illuminated. The crowd was standing around, pressed tightly in about three rows, and it was difficult to see what was taking place under the shed, but apparently, nothing special occurred. Periodically, the dance was interrupted and the shaman started singing alone. His song usually ended with placing the *shuoghur* on the drum and divining.

After finishing dancing, the dancers sat on the felt, facing the three Zushi. They sang several songs to the accompaniment of the drums and moved closer to the gods, finally sitting immediately under their noses and singing and drumming a few more minutes.

Then the shaman rose and loosened his braid. I was told that there was an iron hook at the end of his braid, but I was unable to see it from afar. The shaman started dancing and shaking his head so furiously that the braid lashed all over the ceiling of the shed and tore down the paper lacework decorating the ceiling. Soon there was only a little paper left, and the white ceiling had turned black. Then the remaining paper was scraped off the ceiling with spades.

The shaman next went to the mast, carrying the drum in one hand and the trident in the other. He took the trident under the shed after singing a song at the mast with a special, solemn, and steadfast melody, returned to the mast and began dancing and singing before it with his companions.

At this moment, a hawker's tray with seven white bread buns was brought and placed on the ground on the mast's west side. There were *qiqir* stuck in the buns, and seven burning candles were attached to the tray. People appeared carrying trays and troughs on their heads behind the shaman. The shaman joined these newcomers and led the whole company around the mast, passing it from left

to right, i.e., clockwise. The tray with the consecrated buns was carried behind him, followed by the persons carrying trays and troughs on their heads. I noticed one woman among them who appeared to be the lady of the house.

After circling the mast once, the carriers knelt from the western side. I was unable to see what happened here, due to the crowd and darkness, but judging by the fact that somebody raised his hand above the heads of the carriers and dipped it in each tray and trough, I concluded that it was a question of collecting sacrificial crumbs, while the shaman was probably again sprinkling liquor on the ground and also probably throwing the *shuoghur*.

They now brought a bench, covered with white felt. The shaman sat down astride it as though riding a horse, and galloped around the mast to the sounds of drums, followed by his assistants, the persons carrying trays on their heads, and two persons holding burning candles in their hands. At each point of the compass he stopped and sang a song with the same serious melody he had sung when carrying out the trident.

After getting off the imaginary horse, the shaman took his stand on the western side opposite the mast. His assistants and the persons carrying trays on their heads stood by him. They all formed a line in front of the trays containing buns of bread that were lying on the ground under the mast. The shaman was given a rooster and a broad kitchen knife.

The whole company then started singing and dancing. The shaman moved more energetically than the others, and his song was louder. He first pulled a tuft of feathers from the rooster with his teeth and then started waving the rooster and the knife in the air. It was an energetic dance and his feet rose high above the ground. There was a smile on all the faces and everyone was enthusiastically singing and dancing. Some outsiders also joined the line and took part in the song and dance. There was even an old man mingling with the company and rhythmically moving his limbs.

I happened to stand exactly opposite the line of dancers, and I saw them illuminated from below by the fires burning by the buns. The shaman's face had turned even redder than before. The dancers seemed to be happy, as if they had seen the prosperity for which they had been praying the whole day flowing upon them with their own eyes. This picture of peasants dancing in the night in the light of fires could call forth a wish to behold it again, had only the shaman been holding in his hands an image of a rooster instead of a living animal, to which he was going to show no mercy.

He waved the bird in the air as if it were a kerchief, and the knife that he held in his other hand, was dangling so close to the rooster's head that I thought that death would follow by mere accident. Every now and then the shaman stooped down to the buns and struck them with the rooster, all of which happened to the beat of the drums and the rhythm of the song. I thought that he was stooping in order to kill the rooster but no, he stretched himself erect again and danced once more. The bird was at first crowing but then it apparently became dizzy and fell silent. The lively dance and animated song recalled to us stories about human sacrifices, accompanied by songs that muffled the victim's last cries. The paper hanging on the *huanggan* was gathered in a heap to the eastern side of the mast and burnt as the last act of this operation.

We left for Qijia after this, without waiting for the end. On the road we still heard the sound of the drums, but these were the last strokes. Soon they stopped, probably with the last flash of the burning paper. We were soon overtaken by pedestrians who, like ourselves, were returning from the performance to their homes. We heard the people's voices to the right and left of us going along various paths. Some were discussing loudly, others sang melodies to shamanic motifs, some caught up with us, and others turned aside and their voices slowly disappeared.

Rituals for averting calamities caused by lightning and hailstorms are conducted in Sanchuan by special elective officials called *turaoqi* in Shirongol.<sup>108</sup> Every surname group formed for the maintenance of a temple or *miao* (of the popular cult), elects its *turaoqi*. Thus, the surname groups of Yangjia, Qijia, and Wenjia have a common *miao* and elect twelve *turaoqi*.<sup>109</sup> According to tradition, they used to have twenty-four *turaoqi*.

The surname groups of Nijia, Xinjia, Hejia, and Zhangjia also have a separate *miao* and elect four *turaoqi* every year. They are all elected from one surname group for a year. The villages alternate, and all *turaoqi* of this group were from the He Clan in the year of our stay in Sanchuan.

In Shina Village (on the Huang River) there are four *turaoqi* or, as they are also called here, probably from Chinese, *suitou*. They elect a *paitou* and a *zongjia* from among the *turaoqi*, who lead them.

The principal obligation of *turaoqi* is to conduct rituals at times of thunder. The elders among the *turaoqi* take sticks and start knocking them together immediately after the onset of a thunderstorm. All *turaoqi* run into the public *miao* upon hearing this, grasp drums, *pandai*,<sup>110</sup> and *luo* and beat them. At the same time they keep *qiqir* (flags) in their hands and shout: "Qiliao! San liao! It is over, they have dispersed" (in Shirongol: "Yaosang! Erderasang!").<sup>111</sup> Irrespective of how severely they might be soaked by the rain, and however strong hailstones might be hitting their heads, they must continue their ceremony under the open sky. The *turaoqi* wear winter hats made of felt to protect themselves from hailstones.

The *turaoqi* go from the *miao* to the closest crossroad if the thunder does not calm down, and if even this does not work, they go to a hillock or elevation on which a *chapai* has been set up in the spring by the same *turaoqi*. The ritual is joined by the *laozher* (more below) if the storm still does not retreat. This ritual procession with drums is called *nuoqir kharerjiang* ('guarding against thunder').<sup>112</sup> Every *turaoqi* is obliged to participate in it without fail. A *turaoqi* is fined one hundred cash if he comes too late to the crossroad and 400 cash if he comes too late to the hillock. Therefore, if a *turaoqi* has business away from home, he appoints a neighbor to be his deputy during his absence.<sup>113</sup> They buy liquor from the money received from the fines.

The term *chapai* denotes a four-pointed wooden cross that is erected at some elevated location close to the fields. A human face is carved at the upper end of the vertical beam of the cross. The ends of the horizontal beam count as hands. The height of these crosses corresponds to the height of a man. The peasants under the guidance of the *turaoqi* set them up in the fourth month. They first invite a *yinyang* (shaman),<sup>114</sup> who shamanizes in front of the completed *chapai*; then one of the *turaoqi* carries it to the hillock and erects it without further speeches. The *turaoqi* slaughter a goat during the erection of the *chapai*. Its meat is cooked and eaten, while the skin is stuffed with straw and the stuffed animal is then tied to the cross in such a way that its head comes below the depiction of a human face on the

<sup>108</sup> The Kirghiz have a clan name *Chireuchi*. [Alternative names for *turaoqi* include *paitou* and *shuipai*.]

<sup>109</sup> [Some time after Potanin's visit, but before Liberation, Yangjia and Wenjia split from Qijia and constructed their own temple in Yangjia.]

<sup>110</sup> [*pandai* = clothing with reference to a deity or official.]

<sup>111</sup> [The Shirongol phrase is not used].

<sup>112</sup> [*nuoqir kharerjiang* = showers stopped.]

<sup>113</sup> The important thing is apparently, the number of the *turaoqi* participating in the ritual, and it seems that a special significance is attached to the number four, from which the multiples eight, twelve, sixteen, etc., derive.

<sup>114</sup> [The *yinyang* is actually a lay Daoist tantrin.]

cross. The goat's head must face the north. They drive a tablet called *shazhuang* into the ground with Chinese characters at the root of the cross. Another tablet or *banber*<sup>115</sup> is attached to the intersection of the cross. I was told that they place four such crosses on one hillock; one is placed facing north, the other south, the third west, and the fourth east. I was unable to observe them myself for they are burnt in autumn, and on both occasions I arrived in Sanchuan only after the *chapai* had been removed from the fields. Their complete name is *khura wujiku chapai* or 'rain-watching *chapai*'. The peasants bake loaves of three different sizes and ten of each size during the erection of the *chapai*. The loaves baked in Sangbura differ from all others by their large size and are called *zhengbing*. According to the peasants, the *chapai* are erected in order to protect the fields from hailstorms.

According to an account I recorded in Shina Village (on the Huang River north of the town of Chuankou), *chapai* (in the local pronunciation *shabei*) are erected by *hulabir* (a particular person at a temple) in honor of Taiwang Niangniang or Uhai Longwang. Horse and pig skulls are placed by the *chapai*, in addition to the table *shazhuang*. The *hulabir* sticks three arrows in his breast beforehand and then erects the *chapai*.

The same *turaoqi* are assigned to keep an eye on the damage caused by grazing cattle to the fields. On a certain day in spring, the *turaoqi* go around in the villages beating sticks together and shouting that they will collect fines for any damage caused by cattle from that day on. They again go around in the villages when the crops have been harvested in autumn and announce that they will no longer collect fines for cattle caught grazing on fields. If a *turaoqi* encounters cattle grazing in a field between these dates, he collects a fine from the cattle owner. The *turaoqi* also ensure that nobody cuts hay on plowed boundary lands in the summer.<sup>116</sup> The fines for damage by cattle and for mowing hay in boundary lands are not taken immediately, but are written down and collected later. The *turaoqi* stand security for their friends. With the deduction of the price of a sheep and some paper, the sum collected in fines is used to buy liquor.

During times of drought, the Sanchuan people make a visit to the temple of Shuilian Dong (close to Bingling Si) that is located on the left bank of the Yellow River downriver from Sangbura.<sup>117</sup> The temple is built in a cave that contains a spring of cold, fresh water. The water runs out of the rock and fills a basin. There is a small fist-sized protuberance in which there is a cavity like a drinking glass above the basin in the rock. This cavity is also always filled with water, and the water trickles from it into the basin. The walls and the ceiling of the cave are painted in fresco and a statue of the goddess Guanyin Pusa stands in front of the basin in a special case.

Sanchuan people place the statue of their local Longwang on a litter and carry it to Shuiliangdong when there is a long period without rain.<sup>118</sup> The *turaoqi* and the *hulabir* of the temple concerned also go with the procession. The participants carry with them a flask (*longhu*) and a silk

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<sup>115</sup> [wood board.]

<sup>116</sup> The Salars also have a kind of *turaoqi*. They keep an eye on the damage caused by cattle in the fields and are called *tseuku*. Such a *tseuku* has the right to choose and harvest for his own purposes in any field an area equaling in circumference to the height of the highest plant in the field.

<sup>117</sup> A local tradition in Sanchuan ascribes the building of Bingling Si Monastery to Lu Biansheng (the Chinese god of carpentry). He was a skillful carpenter or *purghang* [deity] according to Sanchuan people. He carried a plane that was too heavy for an ordinary person to lift. He sat down to rest at Sangbura Gorge and people still point out the trace of his seat.

<sup>118</sup> [This was perhaps only true for Qijia and the surrounding villages. In Sangbura, villagers cross the Yellow River to visit Juetan Temple to the south of Sanchuan. Villagers in Shidie Valley visit a spring near Xinjia. Villagers in Wushi and Puba valleys annually visit a lake atop nearby Suke Mountain in order to ensure sufficient rainfall in the coming year.]

ribbon. The litter with the statue of Longwang is placed by the goddess, Guanyin Pusa, upon reaching Shuilian Dong Temple. The flask is then placed on the floor by the basin, one end of the silk ribbon is tied to the flask, and the other end is tied to the drinking-glass-shaped cavity in the rock from which water trickles. The litter with Longwang remains in the temple overnight.

According to tradition, Longwang was once a ferocious god, but was tamed by Guanyin Pusa and now is compelled to spend a night by her side in order to remind him of the lesson taught by the goddess, whenever the god becomes reluctant to give water. The Sanchuan people think that Longwang is afraid of the goddess and will open the skies. The next morning, the people performing this ritual take the flask with the water that has collected in it along the ribbon, lift Longwang, return to Sanchuan, and wait for rain. The flask is once more taken to Shuilian Dong when it does rain, and the water in it is poured back into the basin.

#### ANNUAL COMMUNITY FESTIVALS

Apart from Buddhist festivals organized in Buddhist monasteries that all Sanchuan inhabitants attend, the Sanchuan peasants also arrange their own popular festivals. Thus, on a certain day in the seventh month they have a festival called Duolong Sara Nadun or the Festival of the Seventh Month.<sup>119</sup> The Qijia Clan performs this festival on the sixteenth day of the seventh lunar month, the Nuojie Clan on the thirteenth day, and the inhabitants of Sangbura on the fourteenth day.<sup>120</sup>

Community members bake huge loaves of wheat flour for this day and buy liquor. Rich people make the loaves approximately one meter in diameter and acquire large earthenware pots or *gang* full of liquor for the feast. This is all carried to the place selected for the community gathering. They also take a box sealed with four locks to this place. The keys to these four locks are in the custody of four key-keepers or *laozher*.<sup>121</sup> Not one of them is able to open a box alone – the presence of all four is required. This box is kept by one of the *laozher* with a more spacious and sturdy house. The *laozher* open the box and take out clothes as well as stage decorations and utensils. Crowd members are invited to wear these clothes for the dances and those who take the clothes pay a fee.

Meanwhile, the *turaoqi* examine the loaves and liquor. They demand additional payment in money for bad supplies. It is permitted to change the liquor to a better one, in which case the liquor owner need not pay extra money. Next, the *turaoqi* shout, "Sit and do not stroll around! Treat yourselves and watch the play!" They serve liquor to everyone and distribute the loaves. Smaller loaves are given whole to monks, while the larger ones are divided into two or four parts and served to the rest of the people.

The peasants dance in the ritual clothes in the middle of the circle formed by those sitting. Other Sanchuan people told me that the peasants in Sanchuan arrange a theatrical performance in the middle of the summer, and that they usually play scenes from the history of Ge sar Khan's adventures. I do not know whether this is a separate festival, or identical with the 'plays of the seventh month'. In Shina Village (on the Huang River), no dances are organized in the seventh month, but they do bake loaves.

<sup>119</sup> [See Stuart and Hu (1993) and Roche (2011) for more on Nadun.]

<sup>120</sup> [The ritual is held in numerous communities throughout Sanchuan and the surrounding areas annually from twelfth day of the seventh lunar month to the fifteenth day of the ninth lunar month.]

<sup>121</sup> [Laozher refers to male elders in general, rather than to the key-keepers specifically.]

For New Year's day (Chighang Sara),<sup>122</sup> Sanchuan people bake loaves from various kinds of flour. They throw the loaves to dogs and foretell which crop will yield a rich harvest on the basis of how willingly or reluctantly the dog starts eating the sop. They set rows of small fires in front of house gates on New Year's Day.<sup>123</sup> The master of the house takes a bunch of burning torches and makes a round inside the house, trying to illuminate all corners with this fire.

As in other areas of China, Sanchuan people celebrate the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month, Wuyue Dangwu, and hang tree twigs on this day at windows and doors and also inside the house on icon cases.<sup>124</sup> People tie five-colored silk threads around the wrists, fingers, ankles, and necks of children.<sup>125</sup> They also collect medicinal herbs on this same day.

#### FAMILY CUSTOMS AND EVENTS

The fear of remaining without children, and the factors of infant mortality and female infertility, have given rise to a number of special practices and customs among the Sanchuan people, as among other Mongol tribes. When a child is born, its name is not given by the parents, rather, the father takes the child unnoticed early in the morning to the street and if he meets a passer-by, he asks them to give a name. If he meets a dog, he throws bread to it and plays with it and, in this case, gives the name Gouwar to the child. There are many such Gouwar in Sanchuan. The implication is that a dog gave this name. They also hang an iron chain on the neck of a son and close it with a lock or *cherghuo*. All of this is done to deceive Chitkur (the unclean one) and lead him to think that this is not a child but a dog that was born. To the same effect, they put a ring in the ear of a son to give the impression that it is not a son, but a daughter.

They go and steal shoes from the goddess, Green Tara, in the monasteries of Ghada Monastery and Lozha Dong if no children are born and replace the stolen shoe with money. For this eventuality, there is always a stock of small children's shoes in a special cavity under the goddess's statue. If they accidentally find a discarded child's shoe on the road, they hide it in a sleeve and take it home, for it is a lucky find, and they believe that a child will be born after this.

If a child falls ill, somebody is asked to change its name. The person who is to change the name takes the child in his arms and creates a new nickname for it. Afterwards, the child's mother calls that person *aha*, while the child, after growing up, will call him *awu* 'father'. In general, such a pseudo-father is called *ganda*. He is respected in the house concerned, is entertained when he comes to visit, and is given presents. A child is taken to the temple under the *zhong* (a large metal bowl rung like a bell) during illness, or the child is placed under a kettle. Fires are made around the kettle, which is beat with a stone, and sand is thrown at it. There is also the custom of another family raising the child.

The wedding ceremony among the Shirongols has undergone strong Chinese influence.<sup>126</sup> When a young man is to marry, his relatives go to the bride's father carrying two bottles filled with liquor

<sup>122</sup> [chighang sara = white moon.]

<sup>123</sup> [This and the following activities described by Potanin actually take place on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month.]

<sup>124</sup> [An unidentified article in] *Annales du Musée Guimet* mentions that people hang out three plants on this day: *acore* (*Acorus gramineus*?), *armoise* (*Artemisia*), and *ail*. I did not check this information in Sanchuan.

<sup>125</sup> The Khitans used to plait a 'cord of happiness' from threads of various colors that they wrapped around their shoulders on the fifth day of the fifth month.

<sup>126</sup> [See Hu and Stuart (1992a) for more on Sanchuan weddings.]

(*iraki*), plugged up with berries of *zaoren* (*chubugha*), and tied with five-colored threads. If the bride's parents drink the liquor, it signifies that they agree to give their daughter. They do not drink it if they disagree.

The bride thus arranged is taken by the groom to his home three, five, or even seven years after the agreement. Thus, when an agreement has been made concerning a fifteen-old girl, she will be taken from her parents' home when she is seventeen years old; meanwhile, the groom may not see her while she is living at home. He gives her silver, which she will use to sew a dress and make headgear for herself. The bride's relatives travel to the groom's home and stay in his house for three days when the time arrives to take the bride to the groom's house, after which they return home. Then, the groom's relatives leave to pick up the bride.

Shirongol grooms usually marry girls older than they are. The difference can be up to three years. A similar disparity in marriage is observed among the Mongols in Ordos. Brides are necessarily taken from other surname groups. For instance, a young man from the Qijia cannot marry a girl from Qijia, but must look for a bride in Ganjia, Hulijia, or other villages.

My wife and I had the opportunity of being present at a wedding on 8 December 1884, in Sanchuan, which I describe below. The bride was led past our apartment to a house located northeast of us at dawn. The bride came from a different village, and this house was selected as the place where she would be prepared to enter the groom's house. She rode a mule and her face was not visible because a fur coat had been thrown from the foreside on her head with the hair inside. A man led the mule by the bridle and another man walked by the rider holding the saddle. Some ten other men surrounded the bride from the sides and behind. Another crowd of men sang about ten to fifteen steps in front of the bride.

The procession was moving in the direction of a fire that had been made in front of the house at a distance of some one hundred steps from its gate to which the bride was being taken. Some finely-dressed women were waiting for the bride by the fire. The bride dismounted at the fire, her fur coat was removed, the women came to her, undid the end of her braid, and made up her hair in the style of a married woman. Then the bride was taken into the house, where she remained until eleven a.m. According to what I heard, she was dressed up there, and her head was covered with the headgear of a married woman.

We were invited to the bride's father's house at eleven a.m. It was located in a narrow lane that went south from our house and was inhabited by members of the He Clan. Strips of red paper with Chinese characters written on them were glued on doorposts and on the fence, indicating the place of the wedding feast. Having entered the compound, we saw that in its northern half, a tent canvas had been stretched in such a way that its lower margin hung 2.5 meters above the ground. They had placed tables and benches under the tent and guests were already sitting here eating snacks. Red spherical lanterns hung in the tent and under the sheds of the verandahs. We were led to the western wing.

Here, felt mats had been spread on the sleeping platform. There were also four pillows with the ends decorated with embroidery placed on chests. These were samples of the bride's needlework exhibited for public view. The room had obviously been redecorated. Strips of red paper with Chinese characters had been glued everywhere and, on one of them was a list of the more important gifts given to the young couple by relatives. The wedding was said to have cost as much as 200,000 cash. There was a table prepared for worshipping in front of the door, and on it there was a tablet with, as they told us, three Chinese characters on yellow ground: 'heaven', 'emperor' (Huangdi), and 'parents'. Two small lamps stood in front of the table.

Samt'anjimba, who had accompanied us, gave the bride's father and grandfather a piece of red cotton cloth, 500 cash from me and my wife, and 250 cash personally from himself. The bride received a Russian kerchief and one double-handful of Russian sugar. The red cloth is given for the purpose of girdling it around the groom's shoulders but, since he had already received a similar gift and was already decorated with it, our gift was simply placed on his shoulders and then taken away. The groom was forced to make several kowtows to express his gratitude for our contribution in front of the table standing by the door. The groom was already wearing two strips of red cloth. One was thrown around his right shoulder and tied in a bowknot on his left hip, and the other around his left shoulder with the bowknot on his right hip. There were also bowknots on his shoulders.

We then received tea. The guests came out from the tent in the courtyard after an hour and remained standing along its edges. Two felt mats were spread in the courtyard center; they were white below and red above. They were placed one after the other with the red side up. In front of the first mat they placed a table with the yellow tablet that had been taken from the room where we had been sitting. The groom was placed in front of the table behind the first red felt mat, while the bride was placed behind the groom and behind the second felt mat. Two men stood beside the corners of the table, and two women stood on both sides of the bride. The men set strips of yellow paper on fire and knelt, while the groom and, after him, the bride began kowtowing. Firecrackers were set off. Then all of this was taken away. The groom was forced to make a couple of additional bows inside the tent, spreading the red felt mat each time. We left after this.

We were again invited to the same house for dinner at about three or four o'clock p.m. We were again placed in the same room where we had sat during the first visit. Sitting on the sleeping platform and through an open window, we saw how guests were feasting in the tent. Servants<sup>127</sup> were incessantly scurrying in and out of the tent, bringing in new dishes and carrying out empty vessels. The guests, who had already had some alcohol, were singing dreary songs.<sup>128</sup>

The ceremony of delivering the gifts started after an hour. The actual procedure was invisible to us, since it took place inside the tent, and the foreground under the raised margin of the canvas was occupied by a crowd of guests, standing like a dense wall. We could only hear fragments of a long measured speech, consisting of an enumeration of the gifts. The groom had been pressed to the edge of the terrace on which the crowd was standing. A red felt mat, on which he was forced to kowtow at the required moments, had been spread for him behind the hindermost guests. We could only see the backs of the Shirongol people and the small figure of the groom painstakingly kowtowing behind the backs of the others. This was the announcement of the gifts from the bride's side.

They then started to deliver the gifts given from the groom's side to the bride's side. This was also preceded by a speech inside the tent, but the delivery took place in the courtyard center. The gifts consisted of pieces of cloth and quadrangles embroidered with silk that were to be used for pillows.

The farewell ceremony to the bride's side started next. No one remained in the courtyard, and the tent was also empty. In it we could only see a table buried under heaps of raw mutton that had been presented by the bride's side. Two donkeys carrying packs that had been loaded on the same courtyard were being led behind the crowd that had departed. They were apparently also intended for the entourage of the bride's relatives. The groom's relatives saw the guests off with liquor and soon returned with cups in their hands.

<sup>127</sup> [The 'servants' were most likely relatives of the groom's family, members of his *jiawu* 'minimal lineage'. See Roche (2011) for more on Mangghuer kin groups.]

<sup>128</sup> [See Wang and Stuart (1995a, 1995b) and Wang et al. (1995) for more on Mangghuer music.]

After this, new guests appeared in the tent, were seated at the tables, and began to be served food. This was the time when we also received our dinner. It was made from beef and pork. The dishes were very delicious and had an elegant external appearance. The pork resembled a semi-transparent, juicy fruit like a melon with longitudinal stripes. Another dish consisted of a rosette of symmetrically arranged pieces of liver, accompanied by lard colored to a pink hue; in the center of the rosette stood a rod, on which a piece of white bread had been placed.

The young couple came also to our house while paying a round of visits to their relatives on 10 December. A red blanket had been spread on the floor in front of a red board for the reception of the guests. Dishes with nuts, pears, and sugared fruit were placed on the cornice in front of the board. The young couple remained standing in front of the board upon entering our room, with the groom in the front and the bride behind him, with the accompanying ladies at her sides. A young man from the escort took the command, and the groom and the bride started making kowtows in front of the board, first for my health and then for the health of my wife. The groom made three kowtows each time and the bride one. The ladies standing at her sides also made kowtows together with the bride. Then the guests went to our landlords' room, where a festive meal had been prepared for them.

The bride was taken to her parents' house on 11 December. She rode a mule, and her face was uncovered. Still wearing the red strips and bowknots, her husband led the mule by the reins. Another man drove a loaded donkey at a distance of about ten steps in front of them.

The Shirongols follow an order of seniority based on kinship relations when seating guests at their places at feasts. There are cases when an uncle is younger than his nephew – the uncle may be a child, while the nephew is an old man. Nevertheless, the uncle is seated higher than the old man at a feast, for even if he is younger of age, his 'bone' is bigger, or, as the Shirongols say, *bombei*<sup>129</sup> *shuguo*.

The Shirongols bury their dead in the Chinese way in the earth beside their arable fields.<sup>130</sup> They make a small hill above the grave. There are no monuments of any kind on Sanchuan graves. Only before the graves of more wealthy persons they place cubes cut out of stone with a height of fifteen centimeters for burning paper. The graves are located among the fields in small groups.

## OTHER CUSTOMS

The Shirongols worship local spirits called *gadziren lositu* or *gadzir ulustu*. The Tibetans call these spirits *sa bdag* or *gnas bdag* (one Ordos Mongol pronounced this as *sheptak neptak*). They sacrifice sheep to these spirits, but they do not asperse milk.

When they sell an animal, they take wool from the mane and the tail, rub the lips of the animal with it, keep this wool, and hang it on the wall in their homes. Tibetans also know this custom and I saw entire bunches of such wool in their homes. This ritual is called *talarga abku* in Sanchuan while in Tibetan it is *g.yang*.

The Shirongols have no script of their own, and the Mongol script is unknown to them. The lamas study the Tibetan alphabet and others learn to read and write Chinese. There is a Chinese school in Nijia Village. The teacher in this school was from Xunhua during my stay.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>129</sup> [*bombei* = generation.]

<sup>130</sup> [See Stuart and Hu (1992b) and Zhu and Stuart (1999a) for more on death and funerals in Sanchuan.]

<sup>131</sup> [See Zhu and Stuart (1999b) for details of education in Sanchuan during the twentieth century.]

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SELECTED NON-ENGLISH TERMS

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 'a ཡ   | Ba bOng chos rje འབྱຸົງ ດັບ ດັບ                                  |
| 'Bras spungs ས୍ପྸୁଙ୍ଗ  | Ba bzang ດ'ນະ  |
| 'Bras spungs Sgo mang ས୍ପྸୁଙ୍ଗ ສ୍ଗୋ ມଙ୍ଗ                                   | Ba rdzong ri lang ດ'ຣ୍ଡ଼ଙ୍ଗ ຮି ລଙ୍ଗ                              |
| 'Bri ས୍ରି  | Ba yan rdzong ດ'යାଙ୍ ດ'ଡ଼଼ଙ୍ଗ                                    |
| 'cham ཇକମ  | Badaoshan 八达山  |
| 'don chos spyod པନ୍ ཕୋ ཟପ୍ୟୋଦ  | bagua 八卦   |
| 'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa ཉୁଲ ବା'ଇ ବକ୍ତୁ ଗ୍ରୁଙ୍ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାସ ପା            | baihu 百户   |
| 'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba ཉୁଲ ବା'ଇ ମ୍ଦୋ ତ୍ସା ବା                                 | Baima Si 白马寺   |
| 'Dzam gling spyi bsang ཉମ୍ ଗ୍ଲିଙ୍ଗ ସ୍ପ୍ଯାଇ ବସାଂ                            | Baima Tianjiang 白马天将   |
| 'dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod ཉତ୍ତିନ୍ ଗ୍ରୁଵ ଗୋଙ୍ ନାସ ବଜ୍ହେଦ ସ୍ରୋଲ ଯୋଦ | Ban de rgyal ດନ୍ ଦେ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ                                      |
| 'e ren སେ ରେନ  | Ban Guo 班果   |
| 'Gag rdo rtags ཉଗ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ତ୍ତଙ୍କ  | Bang rgya ດଙ୍ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା   |
| 'gro ཁ୍ରୋ  | bankang 板炕   |
| 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa ཉଜ୍ଜିଗ ମେଦ ଯେ ଶେ ଗ୍ରାଙ୍ ପା                      | Bao Shiyumei 鲍十月梅  |
| 'Ju lag ཉୁ ଲାଗ   | Bao Sibehua 鲍四辈花   |
| 'tshogs gleng ཉତ୍ତିଗ ଗ୍ଲେଙ୍ଗ   | Bao Yizhi 鲍义志  |
| A Chaoyang 阿朝阳   | Bao'an, Bonan 保安   |
| A Jinlu 阿进录  | baobei 宝贝  |
| A khu 'Jigs med ཉକୁ ཉଜ୍ଜିଗ ମେଦ   | Baojia 保家  |
| A khu Blo gros ཉକୁ ବ୍ଲୋ ଗ୍ରୋସ  | Bazangou 巴藏沟   |
| A lags Brag dkar tshang ཉଲାଙ୍ ବ୍ରାଗ ଦ୍କାର ତ୍ଶଙ୍                            | Bāzhōu/ Bazhou 巴州  |
| A mdo ཉମ୍ଦୋ  | bca' yig chen mo ດକ୍ତା ଯିଗ ଚେନ ମୋ                                |
| A myes Ba rdzong ཉମ୍ୟେ ବା ର୍ଡ଼ଙ୍ଗ  | Bcu ba'i lnga mchod ດକ୍ତୁ ବା'ଇ ଲଙ୍ଗ ମ୍ଚୋଦ                        |
| A myes Btsan rgod ཉମ୍ୟେ ବତ୍ସାନ ର୍ଗୋ  | Beijing 北京   |
| A myes Gnyan chen ཉମ୍ୟେ ଗ୍ନ୍ୟାନ ଚେନ  | Ben Chengfang 贲成芳  |
| A Rong 阿荣  | Binkangghuali, Benkanggou 本康沟                                    |
| Āchái 阿柴   | bgro gleng ດଙ୍ଗ୍ରୋ ଗ୍ଲେଙ୍ଗ                                       |
| ahong 阿訇   | Bi Yanjun 毕艳君  |
| Alai 阿来  | Bingling Si 炳灵寺  |
| Alashan 阿拉善  | binkang/ Binkang, 'bum khang ཉମ୍ବଙ୍ କଙ୍ଗ; benkang 本康             |
| An Liumei 安六梅  | Bis ba mi pham ngag dbang zla ba ཉମ୍ ବି ମି ଫାମ ନ୍ଗା ଦଙ୍ଗ ତ୍ରା ବା |
| Anjia 安家   | bka' ཉମ୍ବା   |
| Āxià 阿夏  | bka' bcu ཉମ୍ବା ବୁ  |

bka' rgya ma འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bka' rtse stong འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bkra shis lhun po འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bkra shis sgo mang འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bla brang འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
bla ma འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
bla ma dge skos rnames nyis that ka that ka'i  
    rgyug len pa dang / gsar du 'jog pa  
    sogs bcing bskul gyi do dam gang drag  
    byed འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
    କ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
    କ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
    କ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
bla ma gzhung las pa འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
bla ma khri pa འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
bla spyi sogs khag bzhi འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
blo འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo brtan rdo rje འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khrims, Wang  
    Khutugtu འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang bstan 'dzin འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang snyan grags འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang tshul khrims dar rgyas rgya mtsho  
    ଓକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho, Lcang skyā IV  
    ଓକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
blo rigs འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
blo rtags gnyis འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
blon po འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି  
Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos  
    lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs  
    dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs  
    chung འକ୍ରମିତ୍ତି

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| བୋ ཤୋ                            | Bod skor བୋ ཤୋ   |
| ବନ୍ଦ                             | Bon ବନ୍ଦ   |
| ବନ୍ଦ ଗୁ                          | bong gu ବନ୍ଦ ଗୁ  |
| ବର୍ଗ ଦ୍ଗୋ ଜାବ ଦ୍ରୁଙ୍             | Brag dgon zhabs drung ବର୍ଗ ଦ୍ଗୋ ଜାବ ଦ୍ରୁଙ୍                         |
| ବର୍ତ୍ତସି ବଜାଗ                    | brtsi bzhag ବର୍ତ୍ତ୍ତସି ବଜାଗ  |
| ବସାମ ବ୍ୟେଦ                       | bsam 'byed ବସାମ ବ୍ୟେଦ  |
| ବସାମ ବ୍ଲୋ ଖାଙ୍ ତଶାନ              | Bsam blo khang tshan ବସାମ ବ୍ଲୋ ଖାଙ୍ ତଶାନ                           |
| ବସାମ ଗତା ସ୍ବ୍ୟାମ ପା              | Bsam gtan sbyin pa ବସାମ ଗତା ସ୍ବ୍ୟାମ ପା                             |
| ବସାଂ                             | bsang ବସାଂ   |
| ବସାଂ ମ୍ଚୋଦ                       | bsang mchod ବସାଂ ମ୍ଚୋଦ   |
| ବସଦୁସ ବ୍ରିଙ୍                     | bsdus 'bring ବସଦୁସ ବ୍ରିଙ୍  |
| ବସଦୁସ ଚୁଙ୍                       | bsdus chung ବସଦୁସ ଚୁଙ୍   |
| ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ                       | bsdus grwa ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ  |
| ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ ଚେ ଚୁଙ୍               | bsdus grwa che chung ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ ଚେ ଚୁଙ୍                            |
| ବସାଂ                             | bsgro gleng ବସାଂ   |
| ବସାଂ ଗ୍ରୋ                        | bshad grwa ବସାଂ ଗ୍ରୋ   |
| ବସାଂ ଗ୍ରୁବ ବ୍ତାନ ପା'ଇ ବ୍ୟୁଂ ଗନ୍ସ | bshad sgrub bstan pa'i byung gnas ବସାଂ ଗ୍ରୁବ ବ୍ତାନ ପା'ଇ ବ୍ୟୁଂ ଗନ୍ସ |
| ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ                       | bskang gso ବସଦୁସ ଗ୍ରୋ  |
| ବସୋ ବ୍ତାଗସ ପା                    | bsod btags legs pa ବସୋ ବ୍ତାଗସ ପା                                   |
| ବସୋ ନମ୍ସ ମଗୋ ପୋ                  | Bsod nams mgon po ବସୋ ନମ୍ସ ମଗୋ ପୋ                                  |
| ବସାଂ ପା ଚୋ ବ୍ୟୋର                 | Bstan pa chos 'byor ବସାଂ ପା ଚୋ ବ୍ୟୋର                               |
| ବସାଂ ପା ଚୋ ଫେଲ                   | Bstan pa chos 'phel ବସାଂ ପା ଚୋ ଫେଲ                                 |
| ବସାଂ ପା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ             | Bstan pa rgya mtsho ବସାଂ ପା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ                           |
| ବସାଂ କାଙ୍ଗ                       | btsan khang ବସାଂ କାଙ୍ଗ   |
| ବସାଂ ପାର ମା                      | btsan par ma ବସାଂ ପାର ମା   |
| ବସାଂ ପୋ                          | btsan po ବସାଂ ପୋ   |
| ବସାଂ ପୋ ଡାନ ଗ୍ରୁବ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ   | Btsan po Don grub rgya mtsho ବସାଂ ପୋ ଡାନ ଗ୍ରୁବ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ        |
| ବସାଂ ପୋ ନୋ ମନ ହାନ                | Btsan po no mon han / Btsan po no min han                          |
| ବସାଂ ପୋ ର୍ଗୋ                     | btsan po rgod ବସାଂ ପୋ ର୍ଗୋ   |
| ବୁ ସୁ ହେ                         | Bu su he ବୁ ସୁ ହେ  |
| ବୁ ହ୍ରିନ                         | Bu'u hrin ବୁ ହ୍ରିନ   |
| ବ୍ୟା କ୍ଷୁଯଂ                      | Bya khyung ବ୍ୟା କ୍ଷୁଯଂ   |

Byams pa nor bu ཚྔମྟ དାନ୍ତୁ  
 Byang chub ཚྔଙ୍ଗ པତୁ  
 Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams  
     cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam  
     ව ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད  
     ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ  
 Byang du lhag pa ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད ད  
 Byang rar du spen pa ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད ད  
 Byang thang ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད  
 Bza' ri tshang ད ད ད ད  
 bzlog pa ད ད ད  
 Cai Jingping 蔡金萍  
 Cai Yong'e 蔡永峨  
 Cha yas ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chab ril pa ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Cháhānménggǔ'ér 察罕蒙古尔  
 chang ba lu ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chang Ping 常平  
 Chang'an 长安  
 Chen Mei 陈镁  
 chen po hor gyi yul ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chengde 承德  
 Chenjia 陈家  
 Chenjiaola 陈交拉  
 Chileb, Chilie 赤列  
 Chinan Dewen Zanpu 赤南德温贊普  
 Chinan Dewen 赤南德温  
 Cho 'phrul ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chongli 崇礼  
 chos grwa ཁ ཁ  
 chos grwa ba/ pa ཁ ཁ ཁ / ཁ  
 chos lugs pa ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos mtshams ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos r(w)a ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos rje ཁ ཁ  
 Chos skor ཁ ཁ  
 chos thog ཁ ཁ

chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos  
     thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa  
     thams cad la len zhing ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
     ව ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད  
     ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ  
 chu bdag ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chu bzang ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chuanhuang Erlang 川 黄二郎  
 Chuankou 川口  
 Ci byed du song ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Ci si khe ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Cin ci dmag ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Co ne ཁ  
 Cu'u hrin ཁ ཁ  
 Cuī Yōnghóng 崔永红  
 d+ha rma bu ti lba rta ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 da das ཁ ཁ  
 Daban 达坂  
 Dádá 达达  
 Daihai 岳海  
 Dala 达拉  
 dam bca' ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 dam bca' chen mo ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Damajia 大马家  
 Dámín 达民  
 Dan tig ཁ  
 dang po ཁ  
 Danma 丹麻  
 Danyan, Luoergou 洛儿沟  
 daoren 道人  
 Dar rgya ཁ  
 Dar rgya ri lang ཁ  
 Darkhan, dar han ཁ  
 Dasi 大寺  
 Dàtóng 大同  
 Dàtōng, Datong 大通  
 Datong he 大通河

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Datongping 大墩坪  | <i>dkar yol</i> དྕକཱྀྱୋଳ   |
| <i>dbu mdzad</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଦ                                       | Dkon mchog bstan pa rab   |
| <i>dbus gtsang</i> ད୍ୱାସ୍ଗ୍ରତ୍ତନ                                | <i>rgyas</i> ར୍ୱାଗ୍ରକ୍ଷେଣ୍ଣାଶ୍ଵତ୍ତ୍ତ୍ୱାତ୍ସାତ୍ୱୁ                 |
| Dbyen bsdums ད୍ୱାମ୍ବମ୍ବୁମ୍ବ                                     | Dkon mchog dar rgyas ར୍ୱାଗ୍ରକ୍ଷେଣ୍ଣାଦ୍ରାତ୍ୱୁ                    |
| <i>de'i phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la</i>            | Dkon mchog skyabs ར୍ୱାଗ୍ରକ୍ଷେଣ୍ଣାଶ୍ଵୁ                           |
| <i>ltas nas longs</i> ད୍ୱାସ୍ତ୍ରେଷ୍ଟନ୍ତଗନ୍ତେକ୍ବିନ୍ଦୁଚ୍ଛର୍ଦ୍ଦର୍ଶନ | <i>dkyus</i> ད୍ୱାସ୍ତୁ   |
| <i>དେଵନାଶ୍ଵାରନ୍ତର୍ଦ୍ଦନ</i>                                      | Dmag dpon pi tsi ri lang ད୍ୱାଶାନ୍ତର୍ଦ୍ଦନ୍ତ୍ତ୍ୱିତ୍ତିକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟନ     |
| Deng Sangmei 邓桑梅  | <i>dmag rt sed</i> ད୍ୱାଶାକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟ                                |
| Deng Xinzhuangmei 邓新庄花  | Dmar gtsang ད୍ୱାସ୍ତ୍ରନ  |
| Dengjia 邓家  | Dmar gtsang brag ད୍ୱାସ୍ତ୍ରନତ୍ତ୍ଵଶ୍ରବ                            |
| Dga' ldan ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଜ୍ଞତ   | Dmar gtsang rta chen po ད୍ୱାସ୍ତ୍ରନତ୍ତ୍ଵକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟର୍ତ୍ତା            |
| Dga' ldan byams pa gling  | Dme ད୍ୱାକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟ   |
| <i>ଦ୍ଵାମ୍ବଜ୍ଞତାପ୍ରକାଶନାମ୍ବିନ</i>                                | Dme shul ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶୁଲ   |
| Dga' ldan pho brang ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଜ୍ଞତାପ୍ରକାଶନ                         | Dngul rwa ད୍ୱାନ୍ଗୁଲର୍ବା   |
| <i>dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul</i>                       | Don 'grub ད୍ୱାନ୍ତୁପ୍ରାପ   |
| <i>ଦ୍ଵାମ୍ବଜ୍ଞତାପ୍ରକାଶନାମ୍ବିନ୍ଦୁନାମ୍ବାନ</i>                      | <i>don rtogs pa</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟପା                            |
| Dge ད୍ୱା  | Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho ད୍ୱାମ୍ବକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟଶୁର୍ମାତ୍ରକ            |
| Dge ldan ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଜ୍ଞତ  | Dong Yongxue 东永学  |
| Dge lugs ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବ  | Dongdanma 东丹麻   |
| <i>dge skos</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବ                                     | Donggou 东沟  |
| <i>dge skul</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବ                                     | Donghe 东和   |
| Dgon lung ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବ (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺,                  | Dongshan 东山   |
| Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)                               | Dongxiang 东乡  |
| Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବନତ୍ତ୍ଵପ୍ରକାଶକ୍ରମ          | Dor bhi tis bang ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବିତ୍ତିନ                              |
| Dgon lung byams pa gling ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବପ୍ରକାଶନାମ୍ବିନ               | Dor rdo ད୍ୱାମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଦ  |
| <i>dgon pa spyi</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପି                            | Dor sde ད୍ୱାମ୍ବସ୍ତେ   |
| <i>dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପି      | Dor skad ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶକ୍ତି   |
| <i>ଶ୍ରବଶ୍ରବନ୍ତୁପ୍ରକାଶକ୍ରମ</i>                                   | Dor tis ད୍ୱାମ୍ବତିଶ  |
| Dgra lha bcu gsum ད୍ୱାମ୍ବଶ୍ରବନ୍ତୁମ୍ବଶ୍ରବ                        | Dou Guanbaonuer 窦官保女儿   |
| Dgu ད୍ୱା  | Dòu Wényǔ 窦文语   |
| Dgu chu ད୍ୱାମ୍ବକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟ  | <i>dou</i> 斗  |
| <i>dīdī</i> 的的  | Doujia 窦家   |
| <i>dka' bcu rab 'byams pa</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଦପ୍ରକାଶନାମ୍ବ        | Dpa' ris ད୍ୱାମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଦିଶ   |
| <i>dka' bcu</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବନ୍ତ                                      | Dpa' ris ba ད୍ୱାମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଦିଶବ                                     |
| <i>dka' rab 'byams</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବମ୍ବପ୍ରକାଶନାମ୍ବ                    | Dpa' ris tshe ring don 'grub ད୍ୱାମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଦିଶକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟନ୍ତୁପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପି |
| <i>dka' ram</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବମ୍ବ                                      | Dpal chen stobs rgyas ད୍ୱାମ୍ବକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟନ୍ତୁପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପି               |
| <i>dka' rams</i> ད୍ୱାମ୍ବମ୍ବ                                     | Dpal ldan bkra shis ད୍ୱାମ୍ବକ୍ରେଷ୍ଟନ୍ତୁପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପି                 |

Dpal ldan dar rgyas བ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpal rtse rgyal བ୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos  
     brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa  
     sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling  
     dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]  
     ད୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
     ସ୍ନାର ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
     ସ୍ନାର ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpung nge ri lang ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dri med yon tan ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 drug ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dū Chángshùn 杜常顺  
 Du Jinbaohua 杜金保花  
 Duluun, Baiya 白崖  
 Dung dkar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las  
     ର୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 dur mchod ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代  
 dus chen ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Duwa, Duowa 多哇  
 Dwags po ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花  
 E'érdān 额尔丹  
 Ershisanhao 二十三号  
 fala 法拉  
 fan 帷  
 Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟  
 Farishidin, Xingjia 星家  
 Faxian 法显  
 Fojiao 佛教  
 Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡  
 Fujia, Hulijia 胡李家  
 g.yang ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 g.yang 'bod ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 G.yang can rdo rje ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ

g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gab gzhags ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gab gzhags na thong ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gamaka 尔马卡  
 Gan'gou, Gangou 甘沟  
 ganda 干大  
 Ganjia 甘家  
 Gannan 甘南  
 Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃  
 Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志  
 Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏  
 Ganzhou 甘州  
 Gaochang 高昌  
 Gaodian 高店  
 Gāozǔ 高祖  
 Gar rtse sdong ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gashari 尔沙日  
 Gcan tsha ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gcan tsha ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ, Jianzha 尖扎  
 Gdugs dkar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar tshi me ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gélètè 格勒特  
 Gérilètú 格日勒图  
 Glang dar ma ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres dka' bcu ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gling bza' thar mdo skyid ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 glo ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Glu rol ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gnas bdag ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gnyan ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan chen ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan po smad cha dmar can ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan po'i sgar thog ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ

|                                 |                 |                       |                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Gnyan thog                      | 噶尼托             | Guōlóng               | 郭隆                |
| Gnyan thog 'brog                | 噶尼托·波           | Guomari               | 郭麻日               |
| Gnyan thog la kha               | 噶尼托拉卡           | Gushan                | 古鄯                |
| Gnyan thog mkhar                | 噶尼托·麻卡          | Gusiluo               | 唆厮啰               |
| Go bu me khrin                  | 噶布密·可钦          | Gyang bzhi            | 噶扬智               |
| Go bu me tu hu sun khrin        | 噶布密·图呼孙·可钦      | Gyen 'dzi ri lang     | 噶仁智·日朗            |
| go thang                        | 噶桑              | Gyi ling mkhar        | 噶义令·麻卡            |
| Go'u sde                        | 噶乌寺             | Gza' brgyad           | 噶巴·噶              |
| Gol su                          | 噶苏              | Gza' mchog            | 噶巴·麦果             |
| Gong sa rin po che              | 噶松·仁波切          | gzhung las pa         | 噶明宗               |
| gos sku                         | 噶斯              | Ha Mingzong           | 哈明宗               |
| Gru kha'i                       | 噶鲁·卡依           | Hai Tao               | 海涛                |
| grwa 'gyed                      | 噶锐              | Haidong               | 海东                |
| grwa rgyun                      | 噶锐              | Hainan                | 海南                |
| grwa skor                       | 噶锐              | Haixi                 | 海西                |
| grwa tshang bla ma              | 噶锐·拔玛           | Haja, Hajia           | 哈家                |
| Gsang bdag                      | 噶桑·巴达           | Halazhigou            | 哈拉直沟              |
| Gsang phu                       | 噶桑·普            | Hami                  | 哈密                |
| gsar                            | 噶               | Hàn, Han              | 汉                 |
| Gser chen gzhung                | 噶色·钦·噶          | Handi, Hantai         | 旱台                |
| Gser khog                       | 噶色·俄            | Hanyu Pinyin          | 汉语拼音              |
| gser yig                        | 噶色·益            | Haomen he             | 浩门河               |
| gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang | 噶色·益·钦·莫伊·麦善·巴扬 | Har gdong khang tshan | 哈尔·贡·卡汗·图善        |
| gtam dpe                        | 噶扎·德            | Hara Bulog, Heiguan   | 黑泉                |
| gtor ma                         | 噶托·马            | Hé-Huáng              | 河湟                |
| Guan Laoye                      | 官老爷             | Hé'ér                 | 合儿                |
| Guangdong                       | 广东              | Hè'ér                 | 贺尔                |
| Guanting                        | 官亭              | Hebei                 | 河北                |
| Guanyin Pusa                    | 观音菩萨            | Heidenggou            | 黑顶沟               |
| Guanzhong                       | 官中              | Heihu Linggunang      | 黑虎灵光              |
| Guide                           | 贵德              | Heima Zushi           | 黑马祖师              |
| Guihuacheng                     | 归化成             | Heishui               | 黑水                |
| Guishe erjiang                  | 龟蛇二将            | Hejia                 | 何家                |
| Guisui-Suiyuan                  | 归绥绥远            | Helang Yexian         | 何朗业贤 <sup>1</sup> |
| Guō'érduo                       | 郭尔朵             | Henan                 | 河南                |
| Guō'érduo dīdī                  | 郭尔朵的的           |                       |                   |

<sup>1</sup> [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]



|   |  |
|---|--|
| Jinbu, Junbu 军部                                       | Kong Lingling 孔林林  |
| Jindan dao 金丹道  | Krang co hrin ཁྲଙ୍କୋ ཤ୍ରିନ                                 |
| Jingning 静宁   | Ku Yingchunlan 库迎春兰  |
| Jinzimei 金子梅  | Kun dga' bkra shis ཁྲଙ୍କ' དଗ୍ସ བ୍ରା ག୍ରିଷ                  |
| Jishi 积石  | <i>kun slong</i> ཁྲଙ୍କ' ཤ୍ରେଂ                              |
| Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘                     | Kuòduān 阔端   |
| <i>jo bo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ                                     | Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场                                       |
| <i>juan</i> 卷   | <i>kyus</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ   |
| Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科                                   | La ཁ   |
| <i>ka bcu</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସୁ                               | La Erhua 喇二花   |
| Ka dar skyid ཁྲଙ୍କ བ୍ରିତ୍ତିନ                          | La Nuer, Ernü 喇二女  |
| <i>ka par nas bshad pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བ୍ରା ག୍ରାମ དପ     | <i>lab rtse</i> ཁ୍ରେ ར୍ତ୍ୱେ                                |
| Ka rab ཁྲ୍ଲ རାବ                                       | <i>Lailiao meiyou</i> 来了没有                                 |
| <i>Kaile meiyou</i> 开了没有                              | Lajia 喇家   |
| Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军                                   | Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘                                 |
| Kan lho ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                     | Lamaguan 喇嘛官   |
| Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州                                   | Langja, Langjia 浪加   |
| <i>kang</i> 炕   | Lanzhou 兰州   |
| Kāngxī, Kangxi 康熙                                     | Lǎoyā 老鶴   |
| Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭                     | Laoyeshan 老爷山  |
| <i>kha btags</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བ୍ରା, <i>hada</i> 哈达        | <i>laozher</i> 老者  |
| Khams ཁྲ୍ଲ མୁସ  | Laozhuang 老庄   |
| Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ གୁମ གୁମ གୁମ            | Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)                            |
| <i>khri ba bla brang</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བୁସ བୁସ             | Lawa 拉哇  |
| <i>khrid</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ                                     | <i>lba</i> ཁ   |
| Khu lung ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍                                    | Lcags mo tshe ring ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ ཁ୍ରେ ར୍ତ୍ୱେ                    |
| <i>khyad chos</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                           | Lcang skya ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍                                       |
| <i>Khyod gang la song rgyu</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ གୁମ ཁ୍ରେ      | Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ       |
| <i>Khyod kha sang gang du song</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ | Ledu 乐都  |
| <i>kla glo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                              | Lha babs ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ   |
| <i>kla klo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                              | <i>Lha btsun</i> Mthu stobs nyi ma ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ |
| Klu 'bum tshe ring ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ                     | <i>lha bzo ba</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                |
| Klu rol ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                     | Lha mo skyid ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                     |
| <i>klu rtsed</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                            | <i>lha pa</i> , <i>Lha pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ                       |
| Klu'i ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                       | <i>lha rams pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                               |
| <i>klu'u ri</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                             | <i>lha rams pa dge bshes</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ           |
| <i>Ko'u mol ri lang</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ                | <i>lha rtsed</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ                                 |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Lha sa ལྷ་ས                            | <i>lkugs pa</i> རྒྱା                             |
| <i>lha'i sgrub thabs</i> ལྷའི རྒྱା མྱା | <i>lnga</i> རྒྱା                                 |
| Lho nub du skra gcan རླྷ ནྙ ཉ ཁྲ ཁྲ ཁྲ | <i>Lnga mchod</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ                     |
| Lhor phur bu རླྷ ནྙ ཉ                  | <i>Lo brgya</i> རྒྱା                             |
| Li 李                                   | <i>Lo lha</i> རྒྱା                               |
| li 里                                   | <i>Lo</i> རྒྱା                                   |
| Li Baoshou 李保寿                         | <i>Lo sar</i> རྒྱା ན                             |
| Li Cunxiao 李存孝                         | <i>long</i> རྒྱା                                 |
| Li Dechun 李得春                          | <i>Long Deli</i> 隆德里                             |
| Li Fumei 李富梅                           | <i>longhu</i> 龙壶                                 |
| Li Jinwang 李晋王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用      | <i>Lóngshuò</i> 龙朔                               |
| Li Jinwang 李晋王                         | <i>Longwang</i> 龙王                               |
| Li Lizong 李立遵                          | <i>Longwang duo de difang</i> Hezhou, Niangniang |
| Li Peng 李鹏                             | <i>duo de difang</i> Xining 龙王多的地方河州,            |
| Li Qingchuan 李青川                       | 娘娘多的地方西宁   |
| Li Xiande 李贤德                          | <i>Lóngwù</i> 隆务                                 |
| Li Xinghua 李兴花                         | <i>Longwu</i> 隆吾                                 |
| Li Yaozu 李耀祖                           | <i>lta-tchinbu</i> Лта-чинбу                     |
| Li Yuanhao 李元昊                         | <i>Lǔ</i> 鲁                                      |
| Li yul ལྷ ཡྱ                           | <i>Lu ba go go</i> རྒྱା རྒྱା                     |
| Li Zhanguo 李占国                         | <i>Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren</i> 鲁班圣人         |
| Li Zhanzhong 李占忠                       | <i>Lü Jinlianmei</i> 吕金莲梅                        |
| Li Zhonglin 李钟霖                        | <i>Lü Shengshou</i> 吕生寿                          |
| Li Zhuoma 李卓玛                          | <i>Lü Yingqing</i> 吕英青                           |
| liang 兩                                | <i>Lu Zhankui</i> 鲁占奎                            |
| Liangcheng 凉成                          | <i>Luantashi, Luanshitou</i> 乱石头                 |
| Liángzhōu, Liangzhou 凉州                | <i>lugs srol</i> རྒྱା རྒྱା                       |
| Liǎodōng 辽东                            | <i>Lun hu khrin</i> རྒྱା ན ཁྲ ཁྲ                 |
| Liaoning 辽宁, 遼寧                        | <i>lung rigs</i> རྒྱା ན ན                        |
| libai si 礼拜寺                           | <i>Lǚshījiā</i> 鲁失夹                              |
| Lijia 李家                               | <i>Ma Fanglan</i> 马芳兰                            |
| Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春            | <i>Ma Guangxing</i> 马光星                          |
| Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝                    | <i>Ma Guorui</i> 马国瑞                             |
| Lintao 临洮                              | <i>Ma gzhi dmag</i> རྒྱା ན ཁྲ ཁྲ                 |
| Liu Daxian 刘大先                         | <i>Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo</i> 马罕莫                    |
| Liuja, Liujia 柳家                       | <i>Ma Jun</i> 马钧                                 |
| Lizong 立遵                              | <i>Ma ling yis</i> རྒྱା ན ན                      |





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|--|---------------------------------------|
| Potala                                 | ସତାଲା                                 |
| Puba                                   | ପୁବା                                  |
| Pudang, Pudonggou                      | ପୁଦଙ୍ଗ, ପୁଦଙ୍ଗ୍ଗୁ                     |
| Pudong                                 | ପୁଦଙ୍ଗ                                |
| Qaghuali, Chaergou                     | କାର୍ଗୁଲା, ଚାର୍ଗୁ                      |
| Qangsa, Chunsha                        | ଚନ୍ଗସା, ଚନ୍ଗସା                        |
| Qazi, Qiazi                            | କାଜି, କାଜି                            |
| Qi                                     | କି                                    |
| Qi Huimin                              | କି ହୁମିନ                              |
| Qi Jianqing                            | କି ଜିନ୍କିଂ                            |
| Qi Tusi                                | କି ଟୁସି                               |
| Qi Wenlan                              | କି ଵେନଲାନ                             |
| Qi Zhengxian                           | କି ଜିଂଶିଏନ୍                           |
| Qianhe                                 | କିନ୍ହେ                                |
| qiānhùsuǒ                              | କିନ୍ହୁସୁୱୋ                            |
| Qianjin                                | କିନ୍ହିନ୍ତିନ୍                          |
| Qiānlóng, Qianlong                     | କିନ୍ହଲୋଙ୍ଗ                            |
| Qiao Dongmei                           | କୋ ଦଂମେଇ                              |
| Qiao Shenghua                          | କୋ ଶିଂହୁା                             |
| Qighaan Dawa, Baiyahe                  | କିଗାନ ଦାଵା, ବାଇଯାହେ                   |
| Qijia                                  | କିଜା                                  |
| Qijia Laoye                            | କିଜା ଲୋଇ                              |
| Qílián, Qilian                         | କିଲାନ, କିଲାନ                          |
| Qiliao! Sanliao!                       | କିଲାଓ! ସନଲାଓ!                         |
| Qín                                    | କିନ୍                                  |
| Qīng, Qing                             | କିଂ, କିଂ                              |
| Qingdao                                | କିଂଡାଓ                                |
| Qinghai yiiao weishengzhi              | କିଂହୈ ଯାଇଆ ବେଶସିଂଚି                   |
| Qīnghǎi, Qinghai                       | କିଂହାଇ, କିଂହୈ                         |
| Qinghaihua                             | କିଂହାଇହା                              |
| Qinghaisheng Fangyizhan                | କିଂହାଇଶିଂ ଫାଂଗ୍ଯିଜାନ                  |
| qingkuo                                | କିଂକୁଓ                                |
| Qinglong Tianzi                        | କିଂଲାଙ୍ଗ ତିନ୍ତ୍ଜି                     |
| Qingming                               | କିଂମିଂ                                |
| Qingyun                                | କିଂଯୁନ                                |
| Quurisang Srishi, Huayuansi            | କୁରିସାଂ ଶ୍ରିଶି, ହୁଆୟାନସି              |
| Ra                                     | ରା                                    |
| rab                                    | ରାବ                                   |
| rab 'byams                             | ରାବ ବ୍ୟାମସ                            |
| rab 'byams pa                          | ରାବ ବ୍ୟାମସ ପା                         |
| Rab brtan rdo rje                      | ରାବ ବ୍ରତାନ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ                  |
| Rab kha                                | ରାବ କା                                |
| Rab kha gru gtong                      | ରାବ କା ଗ୍ରୁ ଗ୍ତଙ୍ଗ                    |
| rang bzhin gnas rigs                   | ରାଙ୍ଗ ବ୍ରିନ୍ ଗ୍ନାସ ରିଗସ               |
| rang nyid rgyal ba                     | ରାଙ୍ଗ ନ୍ୟିଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ବା                |
| Rangdin, Longdong                      | ରାଙ୍ଗଦିନ, ଲଙ୍ଗଦିନ                     |
| Rangghuali, Longyi                     | ରାଙ୍ଗହାଲାଇ, ଲଙ୍ଗ୍ୟି                   |
| rangpi, niangpi                        | ରାଙ୍ଗପି, ନିଙ୍ଗପି                      |
| Rar du pa sang                         | ରାର ଦୁ ପା ସାଙ୍ଗ                       |
| Rar lhor mig dmar                      | ରାର ଲୋ ମିଗ ଦମାର                       |
| rdo ram pa                             | ର୍ଦୋ ରାମ ପା                           |
| Rdo rje 'jigs byed                     | ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଜିଗସ ବୀଦ୍                   |
| Rdo rje gdan                           | ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଗ୍ଦାନ                       |
| rdung rgyug                            | ର୍ଦୁଂ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଗ                         |
| Reb gong                               | ରେବ ଗଂ                                |
| Reb gong gnyan thog                    | ରେବ ଗଂ ଗନ୍ୟାନ ଥୋଗ                     |
| Reb gong rgan rgya                     | ରେବ ଗଂ ରଗା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା                     |
| ren po che, rnbuqii, renboqie          | ରେନ ପୋ ଚେ, ରନ୍ବୁକୀ, ରେନ୍ବୋକୀ          |
| ren                                    | ରେନ                                   |
| Renminbi                               | ରେନମିବି                               |
| Rgan rgya                              | ରେଗା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା                           |
| Rgulang, Dgon lung                     | ର୍ଗୁଲାଙ୍ଗ, ଦଗୋ ଲୁଙ୍ଗ                  |
| Guolong                                | ଗୁଲାଙ୍ଗ                               |
| Guolong, Yu-ning, Youning              | ଗୁଲାଙ୍ଗ, ଯୁ-ନିଙ୍ଗ, ଯୁନିଙ୍ଗ            |
| rgya                                   | ର୍ଗ୍ୟା                                |
| Rgya bza' kong jo                      | ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ବ୍ଜା' କଂଜୋ                     |
| Rgya gar rdo rje gdan                  | ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ଗାର ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଗ୍ଦାନ            |
| Rgya hor                               | ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ହୋର                            |
| Rgya tshang ma                         | ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ତ୍ଶାଙ୍ଗ ମା                     |
| Rgyal sras                             | ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ଶ୍ରାସ                         |
| Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags     | ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ଶ୍ରାସ ଜିଗସ ମେଦ ଯେ ଶେସ ଗ୍ରାଙ୍ଗ |
| pa                                     | ପା                                    |
| Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho | ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ଶ୍ରାସ ଡନ ଯୋଦ ଚୋ କ୍ୟାମିତ୍ଶୋ    |
| rgyug                                  | ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଗ                               |

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| <i>rgyugs</i> 壬  | <i>rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘                                   |
| <i>rgyugs len pa</i> 壬·壘·壘·壘   | <i>rtsod grwa</i> 壴·壘  |
| Ri lang 壴·壘  | <i>rtsod zla</i> 壴·壘   |
| Ri lang bcu gnyis 壴·壘·壘·壘  | <i>sa</i> 壴  |
| Ri stag 壴·壘  | <i>sa bdag</i> 壴·壘   |
| <i>rigs</i> 壴  | <i>Sa bdag sog po ri lang</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘                              |
| <i>rigs lam pa</i> 壴·壘·壘   | <i>sa dpyad pa</i> 壴·壘   |
| <i>rigs lung byed mkhan</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘                                  | Salar, Sala 撒拉   |
| Rin chen sgrol ma 壴·壘·壘·壘  | San'erjia 三二家  |
| <i>ris med</i> 壴·壘   | Sānchuān, Sanchuan 三川  |
| Riyue Dalang 日月大郎  | Sānchuān Tǔzú 三川土族   |
| <i>rjes gnang</i> 壴·壘·壘  | Sānchuān sīlǐ 三川四里   |
| <i>rka</i> 壴   | Sandohe 三道河  |
| Rka gsar 壴·壘   | Sangjie Renqian 桑杰仁谦   |
| Rka gsar dgon dga' ldan 'dus bzang chos gling<br>壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘     | <i>Sde ba chos rje</i> 壴·壘·壘   |
| <i>rlung rta</i> 壴·壘   | <i>Sde srid</i> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho<br>壘·壘·壘                        |
| Rma chu 壴  | <i>Se ra</i> 壴   |
| Rma chu'i rab kha dngul ri'i sa bzang gri spyod<br>rab kha 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘 | Sems mtsho 壴·壘   |
| Rma lho 壴  | Sems nyid, <i>sems nyid</i> 壴·壘  |
| RMB, Renminbi 人民币  | Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya<br>mtsho 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘 |
| <i>rnam 'grel</i> 壴·壘  | <i>sen chugs</i> 壴·壘   |
| <i>rnam gzhag</i> 壴·壘  | Seng ge gshong 壴·壘·壘   |
| Rnam rgyal 壴·壘   | <i>sgar</i> 壴  |
| <i>rnbuqii, rin po che</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘                                     | Sgar thog 壴·壘  |
| 仁波切  | Sgo dmar 壴·壘   |
| Rong bo 壴  | Sgo dmar G.yang mo tshe ring 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘                               |
| Rong bo nang so 壴·壘·壘  | Sgo mang 壴·壘   |
| Rong zom 壴·壘   | Sgo mang grwa tshang 壴·壘·壘·壘   |
| <i>ronghuafugui</i> 荣华富贵   | <i>Sgrol ma</i> 壴·壘  |
| Rta 'gying 壴·壘   | <i>sgrub sde</i> 壴·壘   |
| <i>rta chen po</i> 壴·壘·壘   | Sha bar chos rje 壴·壘·壘   |
| Rta mgrin 壴·壘  | Sha bar nang so 壴·壘·壘  |
| <i>rtag gsal khyab</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘   | Sha Delin 沙德林  |
| <i>rtsam pa</i> 壴·壘  | Sha Heshang 沙和尚  |
| Rtse khog 壴·壘  | Shaanxi, Shānxī 陕西   |

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|-------------------------|-------|---|---------|
| shags ngan              | 西藏    | Sichuan                                     | 四川      |
| Shahai                  | 沙海    | skabs bzhi pa                               | អាសារិយ |
| Shānběi                 | 陕北    | Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho | អាសារិយ |
| Shancheng               | 山城    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shandong                | 山东    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shanghai                | 上海    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shangzhai               | 上寨    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shānxī, Shanxi          | 山西    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shanzhaojia             | 山赵家   |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shanzhou                | 鄯州    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shao Yundong            | 邵雲東   |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shaowa                  | 勺哇    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shar Bla ma             | 扎拉    |   | អាសារិយ |
| shar                    |       |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shatangchuan            | 沙塘川   |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni | 释迦摩尼  |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shdangja, Dongjia       | 东家    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shdara Tang, Dalantan   | 达拉滩   |   | អាសារិយ |
| shen jian               | 神剑    |   | អាសារិយ |
| shenfu                  | 神甫    |   | អាសារិយ |
| sheng                   | 升     |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shenjiao                | 教神    |   | អាសារិយ |
| sheqi                   | 蛇旗    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shgeayili, Dazhuang     | 大庄    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shi Cunwu               | 师存武   |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shi'er Wei Zushi        | 十二位祖師 |   | អាសារិយ |
| shibei                  | 石碑    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shina                   | 史纳    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shing bza'              | 狮子    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shíyá                   | 石崖    |   | អាសារិយ |
| sho ma                  | 獅     |   | អាសារិយ |
| shor ba                 | 獅     |   | អាសារិយ |
| shuang xi               | 双喜    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shuangma Tongzi         | 双马童子  |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shuangshu               | 双树    |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shuilian Dong           | 水帘洞   |   | អាសារិយ |
| Shuimogou               | 水磨沟   |   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sko tshi me                                 | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | skor ru                                     | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | skra ka                                     | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | skra phab                                   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sku 'bum                                    | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sku 'bum byams pa gling                     | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Skya rgya, Jiajia                           | 賈加      |
|                         |       | Skyabs 'gro                                 | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Skyid shod sprul sku                        | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | skyor                                       | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | skyor dpon                                  | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Smad pa                                     | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | smad phyogs                                 | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | smeen, Sier                                 | 寺尔      |
|                         |       | Smeen, Ximi                                 | 西米      |
|                         |       | Smin grol                                   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Smin grol no min han                        | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Smon lam, smon lam                          | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | smyung gnas                                 | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | sna tshogs 'di                              | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | sngags 'chang                               | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | sngags pa                                   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Snying bo rgyal                             | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Snying mo                                   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Snying rje tshogs pa                        | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sog   | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sog rdzong                                  | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Sog rgya                                    | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | sog yul                                     | អាសារិយ |
|                         |       | Song Ying                                   | 宋颖      |
|                         |       | song  | អាសារិយ |

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| Songchang Suzhun (Sizhun?) 峒昌廝均                                 | Tangraa, Tangla 塘垃  |
| Songduo 松多  | Tangseng 唐僧   |
| Songjia 宋家  | <i>thal 'phen</i> ལྷ་འཕຑ  |
| Songpan 松潘  | <i>thal 'phreng</i> ལྷ་འཕྲ୍ଙ  |
| Songrang, Xunrang 逊让  | <i>thal srog</i> ལྷ་ສྲ୍ଗ  |
| Spun zla hor gyi rgyal po ལྷ་ଶ୍ଵର୍ଗ རྗ୍ୟାଲ དୋ                   | <i>thal zlog</i> ལྷ་ଶ୍ଵର୍ଗ  |
| <i>spyi jog</i> ལྷୀ རେଣ   | <i>thang ka</i> ལྷା   |
| <i>spyi rdzas</i> ལྷୀ རେଣ                                       | <i>theb</i> ལୀ  |
| <i>srang</i> ལྷ   | <i>Ther gang nyi wi</i> ིେର ལྷା ད୍ରିଷ୍ଟି                              |
| <i>srol</i> ལྷ  | <i>ther gang nyi wi na thong</i> ིେର ལྷା ད୍ରିଷ୍ଟି དର୍ବନ୍              |
| Srong btsan sgam po ལྷା ལା རେଣ རେଣ                              | <i>Thu me lun</i> ལୁଣେ རୁଣ  |
| <i>srung ma</i> ལྷା   | <i>Thu'u bkwan</i> ལୁଣେ རୁଣ   |
| Stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po ལྷା ལା རେଣ རେଣ                       | <i>Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma</i> ལୁଣେ རୁଣ རେଣ རେଣ རେଣ རେଣ |
| Stag lha rgyal ལྷା ལା རେଣ                                       | <i>thun mong ma yin pa</i> ལୁଣ རେଣ རେଣ རେଣ                            |
| Stobs ldan ལྷା ལା རୁଣ   | <i>thun mong pa</i> ལୁଣ རେଣ   |
| Su Shan 苏珊  | <i>Tianjia</i> 田家   |
| Sughuangghuali, Suobugou 索卜沟                                    | <i>Tianjin</i> 天津   |
| <i>suitou</i> 岁头  | <i>tianqi</i> 天旗  |
| Suiyuan 綏遠  | <i>Tiantang</i> 天堂  |
| <i>Sum pa</i> ལྷା ལ   | <i>Tianyoude</i> 天佑德  |
| Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor<br>ଲୁଣ ଅମନ୍ଦିନ୍ ମିଶା ଦମା ରୁଣ | <i>Tiānzhù, Tianzhu</i> 天助  |
| Sun Wukong 孙悟空  | <i>To'u pa tsi</i> ལୁଣ କେତେ   |
| Sunbu, Songbu 松布  | <i>Tongren</i> 同仁   |
| Suojie Longwang 锁脚龙王  | <i>tongzi</i> 筒子  |
| Suojie Ye 锁脚爷   | <i>tsakra beu gsum gyi sngags blzog</i> ལୁଣ ଅମନ୍ଦିନ୍ ମିଶା ଦମା ରୁଣ     |
| Suonan 索南   | <i>tsampa, rtsam pa</i> କେତେ  |
| Suonan Cuo 索南措  | <i>tsha bzed</i> ལୁଣ କେତେ   |
| Suzhou 苏州   | <i>tsha gad</i> ལୁଣ କେତେ  |
| Suzhou Xinzhi 苏州新志  | <i>tsha gra</i> ལୁଣ   |
| tA si ལୁଣ   | <i>Tsha lu ma byin gi song</i> ལୁଣ ଅମନ୍ଦିନ୍ ମିଶା ଦମା ରୁଣ              |
| Ta'er si 塔尔寺  | <i>Tsha lu ma ster gi song</i> ལୁଣ ଅମନ୍ଦିନ୍ ମିଶା ଦମା ରୁଣ              |
| Taishan 泰山  | <i>tsha ri</i> ལୁଣ  |
| Taizi 台子  | <i>tsha</i> ལ   |
| Tang Xiaqing 汤晓青  | <i>tsha rting</i> ལୁଣ   |
| Táng, Tang 唐  | <i>tshab grwa</i> ལୁଣ   |
| <i>tangka</i> 唐卡, <i>thang ka</i> ལྷା                           |   |

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| <i>tshad ma sde bdun</i> ཁ་ས་ස་                | Tǔzú, Tuzu 土族                   |
| <i>tshang</i> ཁ                                | Tuzuyu 土族语                      |
| Tshe hrin yan ཁྱିଣྡྱ                           | Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)        |
| Tshe ring ཁྱିଙ                                 | Wang, <i>wang</i> 王             |
| Tshe ring don 'grub ཁྱିଙྡྱ ཁྱྱྤ                | Wang chen khri བྱକྱା            |
| Tshe ring skyid ཁྱିଙྡྱ ཁྱྤ                     | Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花            |
| <i>tshi me</i> ཁྱି                             | Wang skyA བྱକྱྤ                 |
| <i>tshig nyen</i> ཁྱିଣྡྱ                       | Wang Tusi 汪土司                   |
| <i>tshig sgra rgyas pa</i> ཁྱିଣྡྱ ཁྱྤ          | Wang Wenyan 王文艳                 |
| <i>tsho ba</i> ཁྱྤ                             | Wang Yanzhang 王彦章               |
| Tsho ཁ   | Wang Yongqing 王永庆               |
| Tsho kha ཁྱା                                   | Wáng Yúnfēng 王云风                |
| <i>tshogs</i> ཁྱା                              | Wangjia 王家                      |
| <i>tshogs lang</i> ཁྱା ཁྱା                     | Wànli 万历                        |
| <i>tshogs langs lugs bzhin</i> ཁྱା ཁྱା ཁྱା ཁྱା | Wanzi 湾子                        |
| Tshwa mtsho ཁྱྤ ཁྱା                            | Wǎqúsīlǐ 瓦渠四里                   |
| Tsi tsong ཁྱྤ ཁྱା                              | Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计划生育局 |
| Tso ri ri lang ཁྱି ཁྱି ཁྱା                     | Wēiyuǎn, Weiyuan 威远             |
| Tso shi ri lang ཁྱି ཁྱି ཁྱା                    | Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈              |
| Tsong kha ཁྱା                                  | Wen Xiping 文喜萍                  |
| Tsong kha pa ཁྱା ཁྱା, Zongkaba 宗喀巴             | Wenbu 温逋                        |
| <i>tszurhaitchi</i> ལྡྱାର୍ହାଇଚି                | Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主           |
| Tǔ, Tu 土                                       | Wenjia 文家                       |
| Tǔdá 土达  | Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望            |
| Tūfān, Tufan 吐蕃                                | Wu Jielun 吴解勋                   |
| Tughuan, Tuguan 土官                             | Wu Lanyou 吴兰友                   |
| Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官<br>娘娘   | Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪             |
| Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山                    | Wujia 吴家                        |
| Tūhún 吐浑                                       | Wulan 乌兰                        |
| Tuìhún 退浑                                      | Wushi 五十                        |
| Tǔmín, Tumin 土民                                | Wushi 梧释                        |
| Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊                             | Wushi xiang 五十乡                 |
| Türén, Turen 土人                                | Wutun 吾屯                        |
| <i>tūsī, tusi</i> 土司                           | Wutun 五屯                        |
| Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)                           | Wuyangbu 威远堡                    |
| Tūyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑                           | Wuyue Dangwu 五月当午               |
|  | Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午               |

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| Xanjang, <i>xanjang</i> , Shancheng, <i>shancheng</i> 山城 | Xue Wenhua 薛文华                          |
| Xi'an 西安   | Xunhua 循化                               |
| Xia 夏  | Yá'er 崖尔                                |
| Xia Guo 夏国   | Yan Guoliang 闫国良                        |
| Xiahe 夏河   | Yáng 杨                                  |
| Xiakou 峡口  | Yang Chun 杨春                            |
| Xianbei 鲜卑   | Yang lji tsho ba ཡང་ලྐྱ བ               |
| Xianrenmin weishengyuan 县人民卫生院                           | Yang Xia 杨霞                             |
| Xianrenmin yiyuan 县人民医院                                  | Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛                 |
| Xiaosi 小寺  | Yangja, Yangjia 杨家                      |
| Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发                                       | Yangjia 杨家                              |
| Xie 谢  | Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化                      |
| Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花                                     | Yangzi, Changjiang 长江                   |
| Xiejia 谢家  | Yar klung tsang po ཡར་ ཀླུང་ བ          |
| Xiela 协拉   | Yar sko tsho ba ཡར་ གླྷ བ               |
| Xiera, Xiela 协拉  | Yar sko ཡර གླྷ                          |
| Xifan 西番   | Ye su khe ཡྺ ཟྷ ག                       |
| Xikouwai 西口外   | Yí 夷                                    |
| Xin 辛  | Yi Lang 衣郎                              |
| Xin Youfang 辛有芳  | <i>yig cha gsar ba</i> ཡିଗ ଚା ଗସର ବା    |
| Xing Haiyan 邢海燕  | <i>yig rgyugs</i> ཡିଗ ର୍ଗ୍ୟଗ୍ସ          |
| Xing Quancheng 星全成                                       | Yigongcheng 移公城                         |
| Xing Yonggui 邢永贵   | Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜                        |
| Xing'er 杏儿   | Ying Zihua 英子花                          |
| <i>xingfu</i> 幸福   | Yīngzōng 英宗                             |
| Xīníng, Xining 西宁, 西寧                                    | <i>yinyang</i> 阴阳                       |
| Xining Zhi 西宁志   | Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家                   |
| Xinjia 辛家  | Yon tan 'od ཡୋନ ତାନ ଓଡ                  |
| Xinxia 辛峡  | Yon tan rgya mtsho ཡୋନ ତାନ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ |
| Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花  | Yōngchàng 永昌                            |
| Xiwanzi 西灣子  | Yōngdèng 永登                             |
| Xiyingzi 西营子   | Yōnglè, Yongle 永乐, 永樂                   |
| Xu Xiufu 徐秀福   | Yongning 永宁                             |
| Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄                                    | Yongzheng 雍正                            |
| Xuanhua 宣化   | Yòuníng 佑宁                              |
| Xuanzang 玄奘  | Youning si 佑寧寺                          |
| Xuānzōng 宣宗  | Yuan, <i>yuan</i> 元                     |

yue 月

Yul shul ཡུལ་ཤོལ

yul srol ཡུལ་ສྒྲོལ

Yun ci dmag ཌྷྙ ཚ ད ཡ མ

Zan Yulan 答玉兰

Zanza 答扎

zao 枣

zaoren 枣仁

Zeku 泽库

Zelin 泽林

zha ngo མ ག

zhal ngo མ ག

Zhalute 扎鲁特

Zhang blon bzhi མ ག བ ཚ ས ཤ

Zhang Chongsunhua 张重孙花

Zhāng Dézū 张得祖

Zhang Xiang 张翔

Zhang Xihua 张喜花

Zhang Yinghua 张英花

Zhang Yongjun 张永俊

Zhangjiakou 张家口

Zhao Guilan 赵桂兰

Zhao Jinzihua 赵金子花

Zhao Xiuhua 赵秀花

Zhao Xiulan 赵秀兰

Zhao Yongxiang 赵永祥

Zhaomuchuan 赵木川

Zhejiang 浙江

zhihui qianshi 指揮僉事

Zhili 直隶

Zhong Jingwen 钟进文

Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei 张淑梅

zhongdouju 种痘局

Zhu Bajie 猪八戒

Zhu Changminghua 朱长命花

Zhu Chunhua 朱春花

zhu dar མ ད

Zhu Ernuer, Ernü 朱二女

Zhu Guobao 朱国宝

Zhu Haishan 朱海山

Zhu Jinxiu 朱金秀

Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰

Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠

Zhuang Xueben 庄学本

Zhuānglàng 庄浪

Zhujia 朱家

Zhuoni 卓尼

Zi ling ཡ ས ཏ

zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum

gyi ring la ཡ ས ཏ ས ས ས ས ས

zla po byed ཡ ས ཏ

Zo wi ne ni ཡ ས ས

Zongge 宗哥

Zonggecheng 宗哥城

zongjia 天子

zur skol ཡ ས

Zushi 祖师